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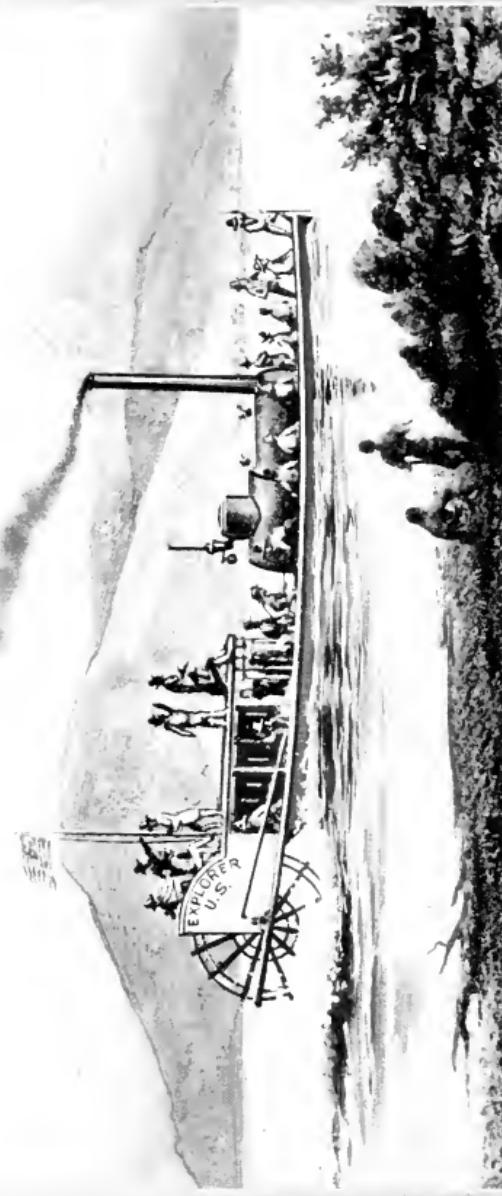
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The Steamboat "Explorer" in which Lieutenant Ives, in 1858, Ascended the Colorado to the Foot of Black Canyon.

HISTORY  
OF  
ARIZONA

BY  
THOMAS EDWIN FARISH,  
ARIZONA HISTORIAN

VOLUME II

PHOENIX, ARIZONA  
1915

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BY

THOMAS EDWIN FARISH,  
ARIZONA HISTORIAN

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**HISTORY OF ARIZONA  
VOLUME II**



# HISTORY OF ARIZONA.

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## CHAPTER I.

### STAGE LINES AND NAVIGATION.

SILAS ST. JOHN—SAN ANTONIO AND SAN DIEGO STAGE LINE—JAMES E. BIRCH—ISAIAH C. WOODS—FIRST MAIL—WAGON ROAD OPENED BY LEACH AND HUTTON—FIRST STAGE—BUTTERFIELD STAGE LINE, AFTERWARD OVERLAND MAIL LINE—MASSACRE OF EMPLOYEES BY MEXICANS—BUTTERFIELD ROUTE ABANDONED—HEINTZELMAN AND MOWRY MINES—LIEUTENANT J. C. IVES’ EXPLORATION UP THE COLORADO—EXPLORATION BY CAPTAIN SITGREAVES AND LIEUTENANT WHIPPLE—CAPTAIN JOHNSON—LIEUTENANT IVES’ BOAT, THE “EXPLORER”—LIEUTENANT IVES’ REPORT—CAPTAIN JOHNSON’S ANTICIPATION OF LIEUTENANT IVES’ EXPLORATION—CAPTAIN RODGERS—EARLY EXPEDITION BY THE MORMONS—JACOB HAMBLIN.

To Mr. Silas St. John, who was connected with the San Antonio and San Diego Line, established in 1857, we are indebted for the following facts in reference to this, the first stage line ever established across Arizona:

“The initial contract was for a semi-monthly service between San Diego, California, and San Antonio, Texas, via El Paso. Mr. James E. Birch, President of the California Stage Com-

pany, took it as a personal venture for the sum of one hundred and forty-nine thousand dollars per year. Mr. Isaiah C. Woods, previously at the head of Adams & Company's Express in California, (which failed in 1855), was superintendent and manager of the line."

"The first mail eastbound was started from San Diego, California, in October, 1857, (about which time a contract for the opening of a wagon road was made by Superintendent James B. Leach and Engineer N. H. Hutton. This, according to Bancroft, corresponded largely with the route taken by Col. P. St. Geo. Cooke in 1846, but led down the San Pedro to the Aravaipa, and thence to the Gila, 21 miles east of the Pima Villages, thus saving 40 miles over the Tucson route, and by improvements about five days for wagons. The work was done by Leach and Hutton from the Rio Grande to the Colorado, between October 25th, and August 1st, 1858.) Although the advertisement in the San Francisco papers noted four horse Concord coaches, it (the mail) was really carried in saddle bags until some months later, when stations were established and stock strung along the line.

"The first four horse Concord stage left San Diego at 12 M. sharp, November 15th, 1857. There was a relay twelve miles east, and another fifteen miles east of that; this twenty-seven miles was all the coach work on the first trip. At this point Charley Youmans took saddle, and with two remounts reached Cariso Creek via Warner's Ranch at 8 P. M. Here the mail was taken by Silas St. John, accompanied by Charles Mason, to the next station, Jaeger's Ferry at

Fort Yuma, in 32 hours, without a remount. Fairly good time for 110 miles, only one water hole open, Cooke's Well, at the time. From Fort Yuma, Captain Wallace (Big Foot) rode to the next station, Maricopa Wells. He had a companion and two relief horses. \* \* \* From Maricopa Wells, to Tucson, John Capron and Jim McCoy were the riders, the initial trip.

"A herd of stock was taken during November, 1857, from Yuma to Maricopa Wells for use upon the central section, Silas St. John in charge, assisted by James Laing of Kentucky, and William Cunningham, of Iowa. When they reached a point upon the Gila River where the road from the Ajo mines comes in, they met Poston's trains en route to Yuma with ore, Edward E. Dunbar in charge, who reported a large band of Tontos just above the river, and advised St. John to take the trail south of Antelope Peak to avoid a meeting that might defeat reaching their destination with the herd intact, which advice they followed, although it involved being without water for 36 hours, but it enabled them to escape contact with the savages. A portion of the drive was made in the night. It was quite dark. The pack mule managed to rid himself of his load unseen. For three days ensuing, until Maricopa Wells was reached, the party fasted.

"Early in December, 1857, three coach loads of passengers, the first from California bound East, 18 persons in all, reached Maricopa. No attempt was made to put them through on mail time—extra teams were driven loose with the stage, and, as far as practicable, two hour

drives were made, with an interval of two hours rest—thus fifty miles a day were made, but absence of water and feed very often disarranged the schedule.

“The company’s commissary not having reached the line, Col. E. V. Sumner, in command of the Department, issued a request to the quartermasters of the several military posts on the route to furnish them with supplies. At Fort Davis, the soldiers were short themselves, and before the coaches reached the next post, their food supply was exhausted, and for a few days the passengers had to be fed from the grain sacks of the mules. Being Californians of several years experience, they accepted the situation in good humor.

“Arriving at Camp Lancaster where a change of teams was expected to be had, a severe disappointment was experienced. The Comanches had paid the Fort a visit the day previous and driven off all the stock of the stage company and the United States Government, thus giving the worn-out teams 200 more miles of travel, entailing considerable delay. High waters in the Sahanal and Nueces delayed them five days and they arrived at San Antonio ten days behind schedule time. St. John conducted this party through to San Antonio, Texas, without especial incident.”

In 1858 the Butterfield Line was organized to run from Marshall, Texas, to San Diego, California. Its eastern termini were St. Louis, Missouri, and Memphis, Tennessee, converging at Fort Smith, Arkansas, and the Western terminus was San Francisco, California. Its

president was John Butterfield, of Utica, New York, who had a contract with the Government for carrying the mails over this route for \$600,000 per annum. This company took over the line established the year previous by Birch and Woods, and its contract called for a semi-weekly service between St. Louis, Missouri, and Memphis, Tennessee, to San Francisco, California.

The firm of Wells, Butterfield & Co. were contractors, and was composed of the leading express men in the United States. This concern was merged into the Overland Mail Company, and the service increased to a daily line, the compensation being augmented to \$1,200,000 a year.

“In August, 1858, under the superintendency of William Buckley of Watertown, New York, Frank de Ruyther, William Brainard, Silas St. John and others, located the line and built the stations between the Rio Grande and Tucson. At Dragoon Springs, a corral of stone, 45x55 feet, was erected. It was constructed especially strong, as this was a passing point for the Apaches going to and coming from Sonora. The walls and gates were completed before the construction corps moved on westwardly to San Pedro, St. John remaining with six assistants to complete the structure, roofing the store-room and residence portion, etc. The assistants were James Hughes of Watertown, New York, the line blacksmith, James Laing and William Cunningham, before noted, and three Mexicans, laborers, Guadalupe and Pablo Ramirez, alias Chino, of Sonora, and Bonifacio Mirando, of Chihuahua. On the night of Wednesday, Sep-

tember 8th, it was clear starlight but no moon. At midnight, St. John was up changing the guard. Laing having stood the first portion of the night, Guadalupe was given the turn until daylight. The other two Mexicans slept outside the walls, as also did Mr. Hughes, who preferred not to remain inside where too many animals were stabled. St. John slept in the room at the northeast corner next the gateway, Laing in the center room, while Cunningham occupied the room in the south corner, where the stores were kept. About one o'clock A. M., St. John was partially aroused by an unusual stir among the stock. He heard a low whistle sounded, apparently as a signal, and simultaneously there was the sound of blows and a feeble outcry from the victims on either side of him. St. John sprang to his feet from the pallet upon the ground to be confronted by the three Mexicans, Guadalupe armed with a broad axe, Bonifacio with a chopping axe, and Pablo, alias Chino, with a stone sledge, all striking at him.

"A well directed kick disposed of Chino, the glint of the axe wielded by Bonifacio directed toward St. John's head, shown by the starlight, enabled him to parry the blow with his right hand, which threw the axe-blade into his hip, while a straight from the shoulder blow landed in Bonifacio's face, knocked him out. Guadalupe was at St. John's left striking viciously with the short handled broad axe. The first stroke was caught in parrying by the palm of his hand, the next upon the forearm below the elbow. As St. John reached for his Spark's rifle, which was standing against the wall at the

head of his bed, Guadalupe got in a successful stroke which severed St. John's arm midway between elbow and shoulder. Bringing the rifle into play, he knocked the axe from Guadalupe's hands, and the other two having gained their feet, all three made their escape through the gateway. The action lasted from ten to twenty seconds. As St. John's left arm was disabled, the bone being severed, he dropped the rifle and reached for his pistol from the holster on his saddle, which he was using as a pillow. The Mexicans, hearing the gun drop, attempted to re-enter the corral, when St. John fired one shot, upon which they decamped. Owing to the wound in his hip, St. John's right hip was disabled so that he could not follow outside for further shots. St. John bound up his wounds as well as he could, climbed to the top of some sacks of barley where he could command a view over the walls, and, pistol in hand, waited for daylight. Two of his companions not being killed outright, were moaning deeply. When light enough to see St. John got down from his perch, and went to Cunningham, who had three cuts on his head, evidently inflicted by Guadalupe with the broad axe—he was unconscious, but occasionally groaning. Laing had one wound immediately on the top of his head, severing the skull in twain, from which the brain was protruding. He was alive and partly conscious, as he made attempts to rise. Bonifacio evidently inflicted the wound with the chopping axe. St. John crept outside to where Hughes was lying, and found his head completely crushed by a blow from the stone sledge. His death was instan-

taneous. St. John found that moving about caused the blood to flow freely from his wounds. He made a tourniquet with a handkerchief, stone and stick, which stopped the flow of blood from his left arm, but the wound in his hip, being full width of the axe-blade, was more difficult to control, but by keeping still the blood coagulated and stopped the hemorrhage. All day Thursday, he lay there enduring the groans of his companions whom he was powerless to aid. It was very hot during the day, no water in the corral; he was feverish from his wounds, and suffered much from thirst. Thursday night the coyotes were attracted by the smell of the wounds, and their barking and howling made a pandemonium, which was added to by the braying of the hungry mules. About midnight, St. John heard the death rattle in Cunningham's throat. Friday dawned; with light came flocks of buzzards, crows and magpies, who alighted on the walls and rafters—the roof was not on yet. St. John, waving his arm, kept them from coming into the corral. They, however, mutilated the face of Hughes who lay outside. This night was also made hideous by the starving animals, and increased number of wolves, who appeared to be fighting among themselves. When they came to the gate, St. John fired on them with his revolver, which kept them at bay. With daylight Saturday morning, they left, but the buzzards returned. This, the third day, seemed to St. John almost interminable, while his thirst was torturing. Laing was yet alive, moaning feebly, but not attempting to move. This night, the wolves were more bold and attacked Hughes'

body, fighting and quarrelling over it not more than ten feet from where St. John lay. An occasional pistol shot kept them from entering the enclosure. With Sunday morning came relief. Mr. Archibald, correspondent for the Memphis Avalanche, arrived from Tucson on his way to the Rio Grande. Seeing no flag flying and no one moving about the station, he halted a half mile distant, leaving his horse with his companion, and approached with his gun cocked. St. John could not respond to his halloas as his tongue and throat were disabled from thirst. Archibald at once started for the spring, a mile distant up the canyon. He had no sooner left than three wagons of the Leach road party approached from the East. They, too, seeing no life about the station, left the road and made a detour about half a mile to the south—fearing an ambuscade. Then they cautiously approached the corral on foot. In the party were Col. James B. Leach, Major N. H. Hutton and some other veterans, who quickly dressed St. John's wounds, which were full of maggots. They buried the bodies of Hughes and Cunningham in one grave. Laing still hung to life tenaciously although nothing could be done for him—he died on Monday.

“An express was started for Fort Buchanan by way of Tucson, as the direct route was not deemed safe for two men. They reached the fort on Wednesday following. The doctor, Asst. Surgeon B. J. D. Irwin, started at once with an escort and reached Dragoon on Friday morning—the ninth day after St. John was wounded. The arm was amputated at the socket. Six days

afterward, St. John got into a wagon and rode to the fort; five days later he was able to walk about, and ten days thereafter, being twenty-one days from the operation, was able to mount a horse and ride to Tucson. A remarkably quick recovery from such severe wounds." (For an account of the operation upon St. John, and his recovery, see Surgeon's report, American Journal of Medical Science, October, 1859.)

The Butterfield route was fully established in 1858, but was discontinued towards the close of the year 1860 on account of Indian depredations, and the almost certainty of war between the States.

The establishment of the Butterfield route, over which was run a tri-weekly stage for a distance of two thousand miles, through an Indian country, over rough, natural roads, was a triumph that cannot be too highly praised. Through the wild Indian country, particularly the latter portion, which Cochise and Mangus Colorado claimed as their territory, it was extremely hazardous, and was made mostly during the night. Of course there were occasional interruptions in the regular traffic; now and then stages were held up and their occupants killed and the stock driven off, but, considering the hazardous undertaking, the success attending can be considered as little short of marvelous.

The first stage left St. Louis September 15, 1858, being followed by a second the next day; the latter being necessary to handle the accumulation of mail. Both arrived in San Francisco October 10th, twenty-five days out in the one case, twenty-four in the other; thus inaugurating

the first transcontinental mail and passenger line on which continuous travel was kept up. Although the contract allowed them twenty-five days on the road, after the first few trips, the time was much shortened. It was divided into eight divisions and arranged as follows:

		Miles.	Hrs.
1.	Tipton, Mo. to Ft. Smith, Ark.	218½	49
2.	Ft. Smith, Ark. to Colbert's Ferry (now Dennison, Texas).....	192	38
3.	Colbert's Ferry to Ft. Chadburn.....	282½	65½
4.	Ft. Chadburn to El Paso.....	458	126½
5.	El Paso to Tucson.....	360	82
6.	Tucson to Ft. Yuma. ....	280	71¾
7.	Ft. Yuma to Los Angeles....	282	72¼
8.	Los Angeles to San Francisco.	462	80
		2535	585

This schedule was adhered to with remarkable accuracy. During 18 months the stage arrived at San Francisco late but three times. During the months of January and February, 1859, the two coaches, one from St. Louis, westbound, and the other from San Francisco, eastbound, met at the middle of the route near El Paso within three hundred yards of the same spot. Deducting time lost at stations, in changing horses, feeding passengers, crossing ferries, etc., this schedule required an average rate of five and one-half miles per hour, or one hundred and ten miles a day. The best time ever made from one terminus to the other was twenty-one days, twenty-three hours, the incentive being some spe-

cially important Government mail. A good part of the road was little better than a trail made by horsemen and pack animals. There was, however, a wagon road from Tipton to Ft. Smith, Ark., and from El Paso to Yuma, the latter having been constructed by the Government. Although stages had been in operation from Los Angeles to San Francisco since 1854, the road across the Indian Territory and Texas was unbroken. Little or no work was ever done on the balance, except the building of a few short bridges and the cutting down of the banks of streams, the road going around obstacles rather than incurring the expense of removing them.

The trip was a hard and laborious one and not to be undertaken rashly. It meant twenty odd days confined in a hard-seated and practically springless stage coach, with the constant jar, night and day; at certain portions of the journey being exposed to rain, and at others to the dust and heat from the desert by day, and to the cold by night. For long stretches water had to be hauled to the stations for miles. In Western Texas there was one station where water for both man and beast had to be hauled in casks twenty-two miles during four-fifths of the year. The stock being mostly of the variety known as bronchos, were vicious and unruly. It was not only trying on the nerves but an absolute nuisance with each fresh team, to have to go through the same process, bucking and rearing, followed by a stampede, only brought to an end by exhaustion, during which time the stage would run sometimes on one wheel and then on the other, over rocks and gullies, sometimes on

the road, but oftener off it. Altogether the trip seemed to bear out the estimate made by an old Californian, who, writing from the East after having made the trip, said: "I know now what hell is, for I have had twenty-four days of it."

The trip was made only by those to whom time was an object, all others taking the less trying routes by Panama or Nicaragua, or even around Cape Horn.

The through passage cost \$150 exclusive of meals, which were from forty cents to a dollar each. The bill of fare, outside of an occasional item of game, was abominable, consisting, according to the records, of chicory coffee, sweetened with molasses or brown sugar; hot, heavy biscuit; fried pork, floating in grease, and corn bread, from the hands of the frontier cook, soggy and unpalatable.

The Indians from Ft. Smith to the Colorado River were a constant menace. The desperadoes of the Southwest, composed largely of Mexicans from Sonora, were even worse than the Apaches. Another bad element was made up of fugitives from justice from the Eastern states and California, it being asserted that Judge Lynch and the San Francisco Vigilantes were Arizona's best emigrant agencies. These regarded the Mexicans with great contempt, and the feeling between the two classes was bitter, resulting in a race war practically all the time.

In the four years ending 1861, one hundred and eleven Americans and fifty-seven Mexicans met violent deaths.

At the beginning of the Thirty-seventh Congress, in March, 1860, the country was on the

verge of internal war. The Southern element, which had caused the selection of this route, no longer controlled Congress. It was also apparent that the Southern States would secede from the Union, and that the line must be discontinued or changed to a different route. The route was never a popular one. The great overland emigration followed the much shorter and less hazardous one by way of South Pass and Salt Lake. By act of Congress, approved March 2nd, 1861, the Southern Overland Mail Company was authorized and required to change from the Butterfield to the Central route, via South Pass and Salt Lake, the eastern terminus being fixed at St. Louis, Missouri, the western at Placerville, California. For this they were to receive one million of dollars per year for transporting the mail, and were required to handle letter mail six times a week on a twenty day schedule during eight months of the year, and on a twenty-three day schedule during the remaining four months; other mail to be carried on a thirty-five day schedule. Denver was to have a tri-weekly service; the company to run a pony express, etc. The charge for the pony express for delivering a letter was ten cents, and the time ten days from the Missouri River.

The old company was given a year in which to rearrange the route, being allowed the regular pay under their old contract for so much of this time as was required in removing their equipment and stock, and two months' pay as indemnity for damages and losses incurred. Service from St. Louis over the Butterfield route was discontinued April 1st, 1861, and on July 1st of

the same year, the new company started their first stage from St. Joseph. In abandoning this old route, they, of course, sacrificed all the improvements they had made in the way of stations, ferries, etc. They also suffered heavily from the loss of stock, equipment and forage. The Texans confiscated all they could gather together, and the Indians, emboldened by the withdrawal of the troops, made a number of attacks, to the great detriment of the service and loss to the company, so it will be seen that the transfer of the stock and equipment was made in the face of great difficulties; it was no child's play to move a great number of stages and stock from Texas and Arizona to the Missouri route.

Notwithstanding overland service had been demanded by the public for a long time, when the service was established, the public was slow to avail themselves of it. During October, 1858, but two thousand five hundred and nine letters were carried; in October, 1859, sixty-four thousand, and in March, 1860, one hundred and twelve thousand, six hundred and forty-five. The total postage paid on mail carried on the route from the start, September 15, 1858, up to March 31, 1860, was \$71,378.00, about \$3,860.00 per month, while it was costing the Postoffice Department \$50,000.00 per month. It had hardly been established before efforts were made in Congress to withdraw it. Efforts to change the service to weekly trips instead of semi-weekly, were attempted. The Butterfield Company, however, stood upon their contract, and no change was made. The agitation was largely

owing to the sectional fight in Congress at the time.

Financially the line was a failure. Its returns from passengers were comparatively small, the mail contract just about paying running expenses. The originators never received any returns from their original investment. The Company was quite willing to part with their entire right, which they did by sale in 1861, to Ben Holliday and the Wells, Fargo & Company Express Company.

Over the Butterfield route was hauled machinery for the betterment of the Heintzelman and the Mowry mines. Prospectors covered that portion of the country, locating mining claims which eventually proved quite valuable. As already stated in this history, Colonel Poston raised the capital necessary for the development of what was known as the Heintzelman Mine, Major Heintzelman, afterwards a Major-General in the Federal Army, being President of the Company. They shipped large quantities of rich ore, some of it going as high as four and five thousand dollars a ton in silver, to the East, which served to throw new light upon the mineral resources of Arizona. Colonel Heintzelman secured a furlough from the Army, and for two years employed himself actively as Superintendent of the mine, up to 1860. Regarding the products of this mine, Poston says that it was yielding a profit of from twelve to fifteen thousand dollars a month, more than one-half of the ore reduced being net profit.

The same success attended the working of the Mowry mine. Lieutenant Mowry was a West

Pointer, but had resigned his commission in the Army and turned his attention to mining, and, according to his statement, was making, at that time, a great success in the venture.

In 1857 the Secretary of War, John B. Floyd, organized an expedition in charge of Lieutenant J. C. Ives, Topographical Engineers to explore the Colorado River, the object being to ascertain how far the river was navigable for steamboats. With his report, which was submitted to the President by the Secretary of War, June 5th, 1860, Lieutenant Ives submitted his daily journal of this expedition, a document of great interest to those interested in the early explorations made by the Government in Arizona. The transportation of supplies across the desert had been attended with such difficulties that in 1850 and 1851 General Smith, commanding the Pacific Division, sent a schooner from San Francisco to the head of the Gulf of California and directed Lieutenant Derby, Topographical Engineers, the author of *Phoenixiana*, to make a reconnaissance with a view of establishing a route for supplies to Fort Yuma, via the Gulf and the Colorado. The result of the reconnaissance was successful and the route was at once put in operation. The freight carried in sailing vessels to the mouth of the river, was transported to the fort—the distance to which, by the river, is one hundred and fifty miles—at first in lighters, and afterwards in steamboats.

In 1851, Captain Sitgreaves, Topographical Engineers, with a party of fifty individuals, made an exploration from Zuni westward. He struck the Colorado at a point about 160 miles

above Fort Yuma, and followed the east side of the river, keeping as near to the bank as possible, to the fort.

In the Spring of 1854, Lieutenant Whipple, Topographical Engineers, in command of an expedition for the exploration and survey of a railroad route near the 35th parallel, reached the Colorado at the mouth of Bill Williams' Fork, and ascended the river about fifty miles, leaving it at a point not far below where Captain Sitgreaves had first touched it. The expedition was composed of nearly a hundred persons, including the escort. The Mojaves were friendly, furnishing provisions to the party whose supply was nearly exhausted, and sending guides to conduct them by the best route across the desert westward. The river was probably higher than when seen by Captain Sitgreaves, and it was the opinion of Lieutenant Whipple that it would be navigable for steamers of light draught. The course of the Colorado northward could be followed with the eye for only a short distance, on account of mountain spurs that crossed the valley and intercepted the view. A high distant range, through which the river apparently broke, was supposed to be at the mouth of the "Big Cañon" which the Spaniards, in 1540, had visited at a place far above.

Lieutenant Ives' expedition was to explore the Colorado and to run a line to the Zuni villages. The members of the expedition were assembled in San Francisco in the middle of October, and received great assistance from General Clarke commanding the department of the Pacific, and the officers of his staff. The party divided into

three detachments. One, in charge of Dr. Newberry, the physician of the expedition, and also in charge of the natural history department who had previously made extensive geological surveys in California and Oregon, while attached to the party of Lieutenant Williamson, topographical engineers, in charge of the Pacific railroad surveys in those regions, started on the 28th of October in the coast steamer to San Diego, at which place some mules were procured and taken across the desert to Fort Yuma. The second detachment, in charge of Mr. P. H. Taylor, one of the astronomical assistants, went by the same steamer to San Pedro from whence they were to go to Fort Tejon, collect the remainder of the animals, and also cross to Fort Yuma.

Lieutenant Ives, with Mr. A. J. Carroll, of Philadelphia, who was a steamboat engineer, and an escort of eight men, went by sea to the head of the Gulf of California upon the steamer Monterey.

At this time there was a company under the direction of Captain Johnson, which was carrying freight from the head of the Gulf of California to Fort Yuma, and they, being unable, according to Lieutenant Ives, to furnish a boat for the use of the expedition at any reasonable rate of compensation, a steamboat of suitable construction, adapted to the enterprise, was built on the Atlantic coast and transported to San Francisco. This steamboat was also conveyed to the head of the Gulf on the same schooner upon which Lieutenant Ives and his companions made the trip, arriving there at a time when it was thought that the survey could

be made at the worst and lowest stage of the river. This steamboat had been built in sections to be put together by the party at the mouth of the Colorado River. After the usual delays, the freight was unloaded on the 4th of December, at a suitable point, and the work of putting together the steamboat was commenced. This boat was 54 feet over all, not quite half the length of Capt. Johnson's "Colorado," at that time plying between Fort Yuma and the mouth of the Gulf of California. Amidships she was open, but the bow was decked, and at the stern was a cabin 7 x 8 feet, the top of which formed an outlook. For armament she was supplied on the bow with a four pound howitzer. This weapon, however, was not of much service.

In this narrative it is not necessary to go into detail. The party had the usual difficulties attendant upon such explorations. The steamboat was finally assembled and named the "Explorer" but could not be launched until flood tide. When the anticipated flood came, the engines were put in motion and Lieutenant Ives had the satisfaction of seeing the little vessel, under the bright moonlight, slowly back out of the pit which had been her cradle, into the whirling, seething, current. During a squall, the next day, the boat shipped water alarmingly, but the journey was continued over the gliding torrent. This was on the 30th of December. J. H. Robinson was engaged as pilot, and on the 11th of January, 1858, the "Explorer" left Fort Yuma upon her mission concerning which Lieutenant Ives, in his letter to his superior officer, Captain A. A. Humphreys, topographical engineers, says:

"The main object of the work being to ascertain the navigability of the Colorado, detailed information upon that point was also forwarded as the examination proceeded. It was my desire, in the communications referred to, rather to lay stress upon than to undervalue the difficulties encountered. At the same time the opinion was expressed that the delays and obstacles met with in the first experiment might, in a great measure, be avoided upon a new trial, conducted with the provisions that experience had suggested.

"This view has since received ample confirmation. The outbreak among the Mojave Indians, and the consequent movement of troops into their territory, caused the navigability of the Colorado, at different seasons of the year, to be thoroughly tested. The result has been beyond my most sanguine estimate. The round trip between the head of the Gulf and the Mojave villages—which are 425 miles from the mouth of the Colorado, and but 75 miles from the point which I think should be regarded as the practical head of navigation—has been made in eight days.

"I would again state my belief that the Colorado would be found an economical avenue for the transportation of supplies to various military posts in New Mexico and Utah. It may be instanced that the amount of land transportation saved by adopting this route would be; to the Great Salt Lake, 700 miles; to Fort Defiance, 600 miles, and to Fort Buchanan, 1,100 miles. The estimate contained in the hydrographic report, of the cost attending the river service, is, I think, a liberal one. The first organization of

transportation establishments, to connect the upper part of the river with the interior of the Territories mentioned, would be attended with expense and trouble, but I am convinced that it would ultimately be productive of a great saving in both. The results of the exploration, so far as they relate to the navigability of the river, will be found embodied in map No. 1, and in the hydrographic report.

“The region explored after leaving the navigable portion of the Colorado—though, in a scientific point of view, of the highest interest, and presenting natural features whose strange sublimity is perhaps unparalleled in any part of the world—is not of much value. Most of it is uninhabitable, and a great deal of it is impassable. A brief statement could comprise the whole of what might be called the practical results of the land explorations. The country along the Colorado, however, with the exception of a few places, has been almost a *terra incognita*. Concerning the character and value of the portions previously explored, great differences of opinion existed. Between the mouth and the highest point attained are many localities unique and surpassingly beautiful. Some of the Indian tribes, of whom little has been known, are subjects for curious speculation; and it being doubtful whether any party will ever again pursue the same line of travel, I have thought it would be better in place of condensing into a few lines, the prominent facts noticed, to transmit the journal kept during the expedition.

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“In passing from the Colorado eastward, an opportunity was afforded of forming connec-

tion between the Big Sandy on Lieutenant Whipple's railroad route, and the point upon the river north of the Needles. The examination verified the judgment of Lieutenant Whipple, who, though prevented from actually passing over the country, had selected it for a railroad location. The distance by Whipple's travelled route between the above points was 180 miles, and is over a rough and difficult region; by his railroad route, it is 80 miles. For 35 miles the line is nearly level; for the remaining 45 miles there is a uniform grade of about 70 feet. During the whole distance there is scarcely an irregularity upon the surface of the ground."

On March 12th, 1858, Lieutenant Ives reached the foot of Black Canyon in the "Explorer," and from thence he went to the head of Black Canyon in a small boat. Returning from this point to the Mojave villages, he sent the boat down to the fort, and with part of his scientific corps, being joined also by Lieutenant Tipton with an escort of twenty men, he started eastward by land. His route was north of that followed by earlier explorers, including the cañons of the Colorado Chiquito and other streams, and also, for the first time since the American occupation, the Moqui pueblos. He reached Fort Defiance in May. He visited the Grand Canyon at the mouth of Diamond Creek, the Havasupai Canyon, and other places.

Early in January, 1858, Captain Johnson, in his steamer, the "General Jesup," went up from Yuma to ferry Lieutenant Beale across the river on his return from California. Before meeting Beale, Johnson pushed his steamer ex-

perimentally up the river to the head of Black Canyon, the point which Lieutenant Ives claimed to be the head of navigation. Johnson did this, according to Dellenbaugh, expressly to anticipate the exploration undertaken by Lieutenant Ives, and, although in this manner, Ives was robbed of the credit of being the first to ascend the Colorado to this point, yet to him belongs the credit of first making a careful survey and map of the river to the point designated.

In 1866, Captain Rodgers took the steamer "Esmeralda," ninety-seven feet long, drawing three and a half feet of water, up to Callville, not far below the mouth of the Virgin River, but this probably was accomplished when the river was at a high stage, sometime during the months of June or July.

The Mormons, who may be regarded as the pioneer explorers of the great West, were the first to explore the northwestern part of Arizona. In reference to their early activities, Dellenbaugh furnishes the following:

"The Mormons were desirous of opening a road to communicate with the region east and south of the Colorado, especially that the 'Lamanites' might be able to come from there and receive endowments in the temple of St. George according to prophecy. Brigham Young directed Jacob Hamblin to undertake this journey, and in the Autumn of 1857, he went with a party under the guidance of a native to the Ute Ford, or Crossing of the Fathers, where Escalante had broken the way eighty-one years before. Successfully traversing this difficult passage, possible only at a very low stage of

water, he and his eleven companions reached the Moqui Towns in safety. Nearly every Autumn after this saw Jacob wending his way to the same region, but not always without disaster. In 1860, the party was turned back south of the river and one of their number, young Smith, was killed by the Navajos. In 1862, Jacob tried another route to reach the same locality, going to the Colorado by way of the Grand Wash, southwesterly from St. George. At the river, they built a boat and safely passed over. They then went south and east below the great chasm to the San Francisco mountains, suffering greatly for water in that arid region. Crossing the Little Colorado, they finally arrived at the towns of the Moquis. But on the return, Jacob followed the original route by way of the Crossing of the Fathers, and was thus the first white man to circumtour the Grand Canyon. The next year, he went again by the Grand Wash trail, touched at Havasupai Canyon, and arrived once more among the friendly Moqui, three of whom had accompanied him back to Utah on the last trip. On this 1863 journey, he was accompanied by Lewis Greeley, a nephew of Horace Greeley, who had come down from Salt Lake with letters from Brigham Young. It was not till six years later that a crossing was made at the mouth of the Paria, now Lee's Ferry, still the chief, I might say, the only available crossing between Grand Wash and Gunnison Valley. Jacob Hamblin was the first to go that way. The river is deep and a raft or boat is necessary to transport goods."

## CHAPTER II.

## INDIANS—MASSACRES—OUTRAGES—RAIDS.

YUMAS, COCOPAHS AND MARICOPAS—AMOJAVES—PIMAS—FIGHT, YUMAS AND APACHE—MOHAVES WITH MARICOPAS, PIMAS AND PAPAGOS—INDIAN AGENTS—JOHN WALKER—ABRAHAM LYONS—EXPEDITION BY CAPTAIN BONNEVILLE—APACHES ON WARPATH—COCHISE—ARREST OF BY LIEUTENANT BASCOM AND ESCAPE—RETALIATION—KILLING OF H. C. GROSVENOR AND MEXICANS—ESCAPE FROM COUNTRY OF MINING MEN—BILL RHODES' FIGHT WITH APACHES—RESULTS OF OUTRAGES ON COCHISE—KILLING OF LUMBERMEN AT CANOA—MOHAVES UNFRIENDLY—CHANGE OF ATTITUDE ATTRIBUTED TO MORMONS—SUBJUGATION OF MOHAVES BY COLONEL HOFFMAN—ESTABLISHMENT OF FORT BRECKENRIDGE—CONDITIONS IN ARIZONA 1857 TO 1860—APACHE MURDERS AND ROBBERIES—ARIZONA A HAVEN FOR RENEGADES—FIGHT AT STEIN'S PASS—FREE THOMPSON PARTY KILLED BY COCHISE AND MANGUS COLORADO—WITHDRAWAL OF FEDERAL TROOPS FROM ARIZONA, RESULTING IN RAIDS BY INDIANS—SKILL OF APACHES IN RUNNING OFF STOCK.

About the year 1760, the Yumas, Cocopahs and Maricopas composed one tribe, known as the Coco-Maricopa tribe. They occupied the country about the head of the Gulf of California, and for some distance up the Colorado River. At that time a dispute occurred, and what is now

known as the Cocopah tribe split off, and the secessionists were permitted to go in peace. This pacific policy soon afterward induced the party, now known as Maricopas, to secede, also; but this defection incurred the severe displeasure and hostility of the remainder, who now form the Yuma tribe. Many sanguinary conflicts ensued, when the Yumas succeeded in obtaining the aid of the Cocopahs, and, together, they gradually forced the Maricopas up the Colorado, until the Gila was reached. Knowing that the country to the north was occupied by the Amojaves, a large and warlike tribe, the retreating Maricopas turned their steps eastward, and followed the windings of the Gila River, pursued by their relentless enemies, until they reached the Great Gila Bend. Their spies were sent across this desert and returned with the intelligence that they had met a tribe living in well constructed and comfortable houses, cultivating the land, well clothed, and numerous and apparently happy. A council was called and it was agreed to send an embassy to the Pimas, to negotiate a defensive and offensive alliance, and with the request that the Pimas would parcel out to them a suitable amount of land for their occupation. After much delay, and with true Indian circumspection, it was agreed that the Maricopas should inhabit certain lands of the Pimas; but it was made a *sine qua non* that the new-comers must forever renounce their warlike and hunting propensities, and dedicate themselves to tillage—for, said the Pimas, “We have no hunting grounds; we do not wish to incur the vengeance of the Tontos, the Chimehuevis, the Apaches, and

others, by making useless raids against them; they have nothing to lose, and we have, and you must confine yourselves solely to revenging any warlike incursions made either upon us or upon yourselves. You are free to worship after your own manner, and govern yourselves according to your own laws; but you must be ready at all times to furnish a proportionate number of warriors to protect the general weal, and, in the event of taking any booty, there shall be a fair division made by a council of sagamores, composed of equal numbers from each tribe, and their decision must be final."

These equitable and generous terms were accepted by the Maricopas, who immediately occupied a portion of Pima territory, and imitated them in the construction of their dwellings and the cultivation of the land, being supplied with seed by the Pimas. In this manner the two tribes have continued together for over a hundred years; yet as an instance of the pertinacity with which an Indian will cling to his particular tribe and customs, although many of them have intermarried, and their villages were never more than two miles apart, and in some cases not more than four hundred yards, yet they could not converse with each other unless through an interpreter. The laws, religion, manners, ceremonies, and language of the Maricopas remained quite as distinct as on the day they sought the Pima alliance, and, while they were the warmest of friends, for the period stated, frequently intermarried, were bound together by one common sympathy and one common cause, had the same enemies to contend with, the same evils to

deplore, and the same blessings to enjoy, they were no closer at the end of that period than they were at the commencement.

In the year 1857 the Yumas, with their allies, the Apache-Mohaves, gathered a force of between three hundred and four hundred warriors to attack the Maricopas and Pimas. By some means the Cocopahs, managed to convey to the Maricopas the news of this intended foray, and when the invading army approached, the Pimas and Maricopas, assisted by the Papagoes, were ready to give them battle, and, in the ensuing fight, almost all the invading party were killed. This ended all attempts on the part of the Yumas and their allies to subjugate the Maricopas. An account of this battle is given in the first volume.

The Pimas, numbering about four hundred, the Maricopas, five hundred, and the Papagos, three hundred, were friendly to the whites and were of great assistance in keeping the hostile Apaches in check. John Walker was Indian Agent for these Indians, residing at Tucson, from 1859 to 1862, when he was succeeded by Abraham Lyons. In 1859 the sum of one thousand dollars was appropriated by Congress for a survey of the Pima and Maricopa lands on the Gila, and ten thousand dollars was also appropriated for gifts in the form of implements and clothes. The survey was made by Colonel A. B. Gray, and the presents were distributed by Sylvester Mowry before the end of the year.

Besides the growing of wheat, pumpkins, melons and other things, the Pimas to some extent cultivated cotton, which they wove in a

primitive way into garments. Bartlett, in his Personal Narrative, in 1854, states that he saw cotton raised by the Pimas and Maricopas equal to the best Sea Island Cotton.

In 1857 Captain Bonneville made the first expedition against the Coyoteros and other bands of hostile Apaches. Making the mistake common to all the military at that time, he made a treaty with the Indians, which was disregarded entirely by the savages. From this time on the Apaches went upon the warpath in both the eastern and western portions of Arizona, all except the Chiricahuas under the control of Cochise. The Pinals, Tontos and the Coyoteros in Arizona and the Mimbres and Mescaleros in New Mexico, were especially dangerous. About this time the Mohaves also went on the warpath.

Cochise, the war chief of the Chiricahuas, and probably the ablest Indian whose name is linked with the early history of Arizona, had been uniformly friendly to the whites up to about the year 1859. He had a contract with the Butterfield Stage Line for supplying their station at Fort Bowie with wood, and there is no doubt but what this fierce and formidable band would have continued in amicable relations with the whites, had it not been for the stupidity of an American officer, the facts of which I now relate. A man by the name of Ward, whom C. D. Poston declares was a castoff from the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco, and who was, in all respects, a worthless character, was living on the Sonoita with his Mexican mistress and her son, whom Ward had adopted, when the Indians came down on his ranch during his

absence, drove off his stock, and kidnapped the boy, who afterwards became known as Micky Free, and who was at that time, about seven or eight years old. Ward complained to the officer commanding at Fort Buchanan and asked that the military assist him in recovering his property and the captured boy. Lieutenant Bascom, a West Pointer, was sent in command of twelve men, under Sergeant Reuben F. Barnard, with orders to proceed to Apache Pass in the Chiricahua Range of mountains, which, at that time, was an Overland stage station, and gather all the information he could in regard to the lost boy and the Indians who had kidnapped him. The lieutenant was recently graduated from the military school and had no knowledge whatever of Indian character. This being probably his first important command, he may have felt unduly elated at being placed in charge of this expedition. Upon arriving at the station, he summoned Cochise's band under a white flag, for a conference, and explained to them the object of his visit. Cochise declared that neither he nor any member of his band was responsible for the depredation, but that if he was given a few days' time, he would discover what band of Indians had stolen the stock and carried off the boy, and would secure them by purchase, as was then the custom among the Indians, and restore them to the whites. This statement by Cochise was afterwards proven to be absolutely true, but Bascom did not believe it, and told Cochise and the chiefs with him that they were under arrest. Cochise drew his knife and cut a large slit through the tent and escaped to the hills, some

say with a bayonet wound in the knee. The other prisoners, variously stated from one to six, among whom was the half brother of Cochise, were held by Bascom and his party. Cochise captured three white men and from nine to ten mules belonging to the Government. One of these prisoners, a man by the name of Wallace, understood the Apache language thoroughly, and, prior to this time, had been the warm personal friend of Cochise. Cochise rallied a large number of his warriors, and offered through Wallace, to exchange his captives for the captive Indians and to restore the stock which he had taken, which was refused. The next day this offer was repeated, Wallace and his companions urging the lieutenant to accede to it, declaring that otherwise their lives would pay the forfeit. Bascom, with unaccountable stubbornness, still refused, and hung the Apache prisoners, when Cochise tortured the white men to death in full view of the troops at the station. It seems then that Cochise attacked the station and Bascom had his hands full in defending himself and his command until re-enforcements arrived a few days later and enabled him to escape from his perilous position. Bascom resigned from the army at the breaking out of the Civil War, and, according to Captain Jeffords, was killed at the battle of Val Verde, while fighting on the side of the Confederates.

From this time forward, Cochise was the sworn enemy of the whites, and for more than twenty years he and his tribe were at war with them. Bascom's stupidity and ignorance probably cost five thousand American lives and the

destruction of hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property.

Raphael Pumpelly, who, at the time of the breaking out of the War of Rebellion, was metallurgist at the Santa Rita Mines, in his work entitled "Across America and Asia" gives a very succinct account of the capture of Cochise and his escape, the conditions in that part of Arizona when the Federal troops were withdrawn, and also an account of his escape from the Territory, in which recital Mr. Pumpelly gives an account of some of the Indian outrages and murders that occurred at that time. He says:

"The season was promising to pass without our hacienda being troubled by the Indians, when one morning our whole herd of forty or fifty fine horses and mules was missing. There were no animals left to follow with, and the result of a day's pursuit was only the finding of an old horse and two jackasses.

"Several times during the remainder of the winter and spring, we were attacked by Apaches, and our mines were the scene of more fighting than any other part of the territory.

"Aside from this, little of note occurred, until news came that the troops were to be recalled, leaving the country without any protection. The excitement was very great among the settlers, who were scattered over the country in such a manner as to be unable to furnish mutual assistance.

"To make the matter worse, the military began an uncalled for war with the Apaches. In

the beginning of April, I believe, some Indians, of what tribe was not known, carried off a cow and a child belonging to a Mexican woman, living with an American. Upon the application of the latter, the commandant at Fort Buchanan dispatched a force of seventy-five men to the nearest Apache tribe. The only interpreter to the expedition was the American who was directly interested in the result.

“Arriving at Apache Pass, the home of the tribe, the Lieutenant in command raised a white flag over his tent, under the protection of which six of the principal chiefs, including Cochise, one of the leaders of the Apache nation, came to the camp, and were invited into the tent.

“A demand was made for the child and cow, to which the Indians replied, truly or falsely, that they knew nothing of the matter, and that they had not been stolen by their tribe.

“After a long parley, during which the chiefs protested the innocence of their tribe in the matter, they were seized. One of the number in trying to escape was knocked down and pinned to the ground by a bayonet. Four others were bound, but Cochise, seizing a knife from the ground, cut his way through the canvas, and escaped, but not without receiving, as he afterward told, three bullets fired by the outside guard.

“And this happened under a United States flag of truce. At this time three of the most powerful tribes of the nation were concentrated at Apache Pass, and when Cochise arrived among them, a war of extermination was immediately declared against the whites.

“The next day they killed some prisoners, and in retaliation the five chiefs were hung. Our troops, after being badly beaten, were obliged to return to the fort.

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“In the meantime, orders came for the abandonment of the territory by the soldiers. The country was thrown into consternation. The Apaches began to ride through it roughshod, succeeding in all their attacks. The settlers, mostly farmers, abandoned their crops, and with their families concentrated for mutual protection at Tucson, Tubac and at one or two ranches.

“When, in addition to this, the news came of the beginning of the rebellion in the East, we decided that as it would be impossible to hold our mines, our only course was to remove the portable property of the company to Tubac. We were entirely out of money, owing a considerable force of Mexican workingmen and two or three Americans, and needed means for paying for the transportation of the property, and for getting ourselves out of the country.

“As the Indians had some time before stopped all working of the mines, our stock of ore was too small to furnish the amount of silver needed to meet these demands, and our main hope lay in the possibility of collecting debts due to the company. In pursuance of this plan, I started alone but well armed to visit the Heintzelman mine, one of our principal debtors. The ride of forty miles was accomplished in safety, and I reached the house of the superintendent Mr. J. Poston, in the afternoon. Not being able to obtain money, for no one could afford to part with bullion, even to pay debts, I took payment in ore

worth nearly \$2,000 per ton, with a little flour and calico. This was dispatched in the course of the afternoon, in charge of two of the most fearless Mexicans of the force at the mine.

“The next morning I started homeward alone, riding a horse I had bought, and driving before me the one that brought me over. I had so much trouble with the loose animal, that night found me several miles from our hacienda.

“Only those who have traveled in a country of hostile Indians, know what it is to journey by night. The uncertain light of the stars, or even of the moon, leaves open the widest field for the imagination to fill. Fancy gives life to the blackened yucca, and transforms the tall stem of the century plant into the lance of the Apache. The ear of the traveler listens anxiously to the breathing of his horse, and his eye, ever on the alert before and behind, must watch the motions of the horse’s ears, and scrutinize the sand for tracks, and every object within fifty yards for the lurking-place of an Indian.

“Still, night is the least dangerous time to travel, as one is not easily seen so far as by day. But after a few night journeys, I found the mental tension so unbearable that I always chose the daytime, preferring to run a far greater risk of death to being made the prey of an overstrained imagination. Then, too, in such a state of society as then existed, the traveller in the dead of night approaches a solitary house, perhaps his own, with much anxiety, the often occurring massacres of the whites and Mexicans by Indians, and the as frequent murders of the Americans by their own Mexican workmen, rendering

it uncertain whether he may not find only the dead bodies of his friends.

“About three miles from the hacienda, in the most rocky part of the valley, the horse in front stopped short, and both animals began to snort and show signs of fear. There could be little doubt that Indians were in the neighborhood. Both horses started off at a runaway speed, leaving all control over either one out of the question. Fortunately, the free horse, taking the lead, made first a long circuit and then bounded off toward the hacienda, followed by my own. After a breakneck course over stony ground, leaping rocks and cacti, down and up steep hills, and tearing through thorny bushes, with clothing torn and legs pierced by the Spanish bayonet, I reached the house.

“The wagon with the ore, although due that morning, had not arrived, and this was the more remarkable as I had not seen it on the road. When noon came the next day, and the ore still had not arrived, we concluded that the Mexicans who knew well its value, had stolen it, packed it on the mules, and taken the road to Sonora.

“Acting on this supposition, Grosvenor, (H. C., superintendent of the mine), and myself mounted our horses, and, armed and provisioned for a ten days’ absence, started in pursuit.

“We rode about two miles, and descended to the foot of a long hill, making a short cut to avoid the bend of the wagon-road, which for lighter grade crossed the dry bed of the stream a few hundred yards higher up.

“We were just crossing the arroyo to climb the opposite hill, when looking up we saw the

missing wagon just coming into sight and beginning the descent. One of the Mexicans rode a wheel mule, while the other was walking ahead of the leaders. We had evidently judged our men wrongly, and when Grosvenor proposed that we should go on and come back with them, I objected, on the ground that the Mexicans, seeing us prepared for a long journey, would know at once that we had suspected them. We therefore decided to turn back, but taking another way homeward, we immediately lost sight of the wagon. After riding a few hundred yards we dismounted at a spring, where we rested for a quarter of an hour, and then rode home.

“As the afternoon passed away without the arrival of the wagon, we supposed it had broken down, and at twilight Grosvenor proposed that we should walk out and see what caused the delay. I took down my hat to go, but, being engaged in important work, concluded not to leave it, when my friend said he would go only to a point close by, and come back if he saw nothing. It was soon dark, and the two other Americans and myself sat down to tea. By the time we left the table, Grosvenor had been out about half an hour, and we concluded to go after him.

“Accompanied by Mr. Robinson, the book-keeper, and leaving the other American to take care of the house, I walked along the Tubac road. We were both well-armed, and the full moon, just rising above the horizon behind us, lighted brilliantly the whole country. We had gone about a mile and a half, and were just beginning to ascend a long, barren hill, when, hearing the mewing of our house cat, I stopped, and, as the

cat came running toward us, stooped and took her in my arms.

“As I did so, my attention was attracted by her sniffing the air and fixing her eyes on some object ahead of us. Looking in the direction thus indicated, we saw near the roadside on the top of the hill, the crouching figure of a man, his form for a moment clearly defined against the starlit sky, and then disappearing behind a cactus. I dropped the cat, which bounded on ahead of us, and we cocked our pistols and walked briskly up the hill. But when we reached the cactus, the man was gone, though a dark ravine, running parallel with our road showed the direction he had probably taken. Of Grosvenor we saw nothing. Continuing our way at a rapid pace and full of anxiety, we began the long descent toward the arroyo, from which we had seen the wagon at noon. Turning a point of rocks about half-way down, we caught sight of the wagon drawn off from the road on the further side of the arroyo. The deep silence that always reigns in those mountains was unbroken, and neither mules nor men were visible. Observing something very white near the wagon, we at first took it for the reflected light of a campfire, and concluded that the Mexicans were encamped behind some rocks, and that with them we would find our friend. But it was soon evident that what we saw was a heap of flour reflecting the moonlight. Anxiously watching this and the wagon, we had approached within about twenty yards of the latter when we both started back—we had nearly trodden on a man lying in the road. My first thought was that it

was a strange place to sleep, but he was naked and lying on his face, with his head downhill. The first idea had barely time to flash through my mind, when another followed—it was not sleep, but death.

“As we stooped down and looked closer, the truth we had both instinctively felt was evident—the murdered man was Grosvenor.

“It would be impossible to describe the intensity of emotion crowded into the minute that followed this discovery. For the first time, I stood an actor in a scene of death, the victim a dear friend, the murderers and the deed itself buried in mystery.

“The head of the murdered man lay in a pool of blood; two lance wounds through the throat had nearly severed it from the body, which was pierced by a dozen other thrusts. A bullet-hole in the left breast had probably caused death before he was mutilated with lances. He had not moved since he fell by the shot that took his life; and as the feet were stretched out in stripping the corpse, so they remained stretched out when we found him. The body was still warm, indeed he could not have reached the spot when we left the house.

“I have seen death since, and repeatedly under circumstances almost equally awful, but never with so intense a shock. For a minute, that seemed an age, we were so unnerved that I doubt whether we could have resisted an attack, but fortunately our own situation soon brought us to our senses. We were on foot, two miles from the house, and the murderers, whoever they might be, could not be far off, if indeed the spy

we had seen had not already started them after us. Looking toward the wagon, I thought I could discover other bodies, but we knew that every instant of time was of great importance, and without venturing to examine closer, we started homeward.

“There was only one white man at the hacienda, and a large number of peons, and we did not yet know whether the murderers were Indians, or Mexicans who would probably be in collusion with our own workmen.

“If they were Indians, we might escape by reaching the house before they could overtake us, but if they were our Mexicans, we could hardly avoid the fate the employee at the house must already have met with.

“Taking each of us one side of the road, and looking out, one to the left, the other to the right, our revolvers ready, and the cat running before us, we walked quickly homeward, uncertain whether we were going away from or into danger. In this manner we went on until within a half a mile of the house, when we reached the place where the road lay for several hundred yards through a dense thicket—the very spot for an ambush. We had now to decide whether to take this the shorter way, or another, which by detaining us a few minutes longer would lead us over an open plain, where we could in the bright moonlight see every object within a long distance. The idea of being able to defend ourselves tempted us strongly toward the open plain, but the consciousness of the value of every minute caused us to decide quickly, and taking the shorter way, we were soon in the dark, close

thicket. As we came out into the open valley, the sensation of relief was like that felt on escaping untouched from a shot you have seen deliberately fired at you. Just before reaching the house, we heard Indian signals given and answered, each time nearer than before, but we gained the door safely, and found all as we had left it, the American unaware of danger was making bread, and the Mexicans were asleep in their quarters. We kept guard all night, but were not attacked.

“Before daylight we dispatched a Mexican courier across the mountains to the fort, and another to Tubac, and then went after Grosvenor’s body. We found it as we had left it, while near the wagon lay the bodies of the two Mexican teamsters.

“We were now able to read the history of the whole of this murderous affair. The wagon must have been attacked within less than five minutes after we had seen it at noon, indeed while we were resting and smoking at the spring not four hundred yards from the spot. A party of Indians, fifteen in number, as we found by the tracks, had sprung upon the Mexicans, who seem unaccountably not to have used their firearms, although the sand showed the marks of a desperate hand to hand struggle. Having killed the men, the Apaches cut the mules loose, emptied the flour, threw out the ore, which was useless to them, and drove the animals to a spot a quarter of a mile distant, where they feasted on one of them, and spent the day and night. A party was left behind to waylay such of us as might come out to meet the team. When Gros-

venor neared the spot, he was shot by an Indian, who, crouching behind a cactus about ten feet distant, had left the impression of his gun-stock in the sand. Knowing well that their victim would be sought by others, they had left the spy we had seen; and had not the cat directed our attention to him at the time when he was moved stealthily away, thereby causing us to walk rapidly to the scene of the murder, and faster back, we could hardly have escaped the fate of our friend.

“During the day Lieutenant Evans arrived with a force of nineteen soldiers, having with difficulty obtained the consent of his commandant, and soon after Colonel Poston reached the mine with a party of Americans. Graves had been dug, and, after reading the burial service and throwing in the earth, we fired a volley and turned away, no one knowing how soon his time might come.

“I now foresaw a long and dangerous work before us in extracting the silver from our ore. We could indeed have abandoned the mines, and have escaped from the God-forsaken land by accompanying the military, which was to leave in two weeks. But both Mr. Robinson and myself considered that we were in duty bound to place the movable property of the company in safety at Tubac, and to pay in bullion the money owing to men who without it could not escape. To accomplish this would require six weeks’ work at the furnace, crippled as were all operations by the loss of our horses and mules.

“It was of the first importance that we should increase our force of Americans, not only for

protection against the Apaches, but more especially against the possible treachery of our Mexican workmen, for at almost every mine in the country a part of all of the whites had been murdered by their peons. One of the party which had come that day from Tubac was engaged on the spot. Partly in the hope of getting a small force of soldiers, who should remain till the abandonment began, and partly to persuade an American who lived on the road to the fort to join us, I resolved to accompany Lieutenant Evans, who was obliged to return the next day.

“Taking with me a young Apache who had been captured while a child, and had no sympathy with his tribe, I rode away with Lieutenant Evans, intending to return the next day. The wagon road lay for ten miles along a tributary of the Sonoita valley, then ascended the Sonoita for twelve miles to the fort, while a bridle-path across the hills shortened the distance some two or three miles by leaving the road before the junction of the two valleys. To reach the house of the American whom I wished to see, we would have to follow the wagon road all the way; and as more than a mile of it before the junction of the valleys lay through a narrow and dangerous defile, on an Apache wartrail that was constantly frequented by the Indians, Lieutenant Evans would not assume the responsibility of risking the lives of his men in a place where they would be at such disadvantage. While I felt obliged to acknowledge that it would be imprudent to take infantry mounted on mules through the defile, it was of the first necessity that I should see Mr. Elliott Titus, the American

living near the junction of the valleys. At the point where the hill-trail left the road, bidding goodbye to Lieutenant Evans, who, could he have left his men, would have accompanied me himself, I was soon alone with Juan, my Apache boy. As we neared the gorge, I observed that Juan, who was galloping ahead, stopped suddenly, and hesitated. As I came up, he pointed to the sand, which was covered with fresh foot-tracks.

“It was evident that a considerable party of Indians had been here within half an hour, and had dispersed suddenly toward the hills in different directions. Our safest course seemed to be to press forward and reach Titus’ house, now about two miles off. We were on good horses, and these animals, not less alarmed than ourselves, soon brought us through the defile to the Sonoita creek. To slip our horses’ bridles without dismounting, and refresh the animals with one long swallow, was the work of a minute, and we were again tearing along at a runaway speed. We had barely left the creek when we passed the full-length impression of a man’s form in the sand with a pool of blood, and at the same instant an unearthly yell from the hills behind us showed that the Apaches, although not visible, were after us, and felt sure of bringing us down. Our horses, however, fearing nothing so much as an Indian, almost flew over the ground and soon brought us in sight of Titus’ hacienda. This lay about two hundred yards off from the road in a broad valley shaded by magnificent live oaks.

"As we rode rapidly towards the houses, I was struck with the quietness of a place generally full of life, and said so to Juan.

"'It's all right!' he said, 'I saw three men just now near the house.'

"But as we passed the first building, a smith's shop, both horses shied, and as we came to the principal house, a scene of destruction met our eyes.

"The doors had been forced in, and the whole contents of the house lay on the ground outside, in heaps of broken rubbish. Not far from the door stood a pile made of wool, corn, beans and flour, and capping the whole a gold watch hung from a stock driven into the heap. Stooping from the saddle, I took the watch, and found it still going.

"As I started to dismount to look for the bodies of the Americans, Juan begged of me not to stop.

"'They are all killed,' he said, 'and we shall have hardly time to reach the road before the Indians come up. Promise me,' he continued, 'that you will fight when the devils close with us; if not, I will save myself now.'

"Assuring the boy, whom I knew to be brave, that I had no idea of being scalped and burned without a struggle, I put spurs to my restless horse, and we were soon on the main road, but not a moment too soon, for a large party of Apaches, fortunately for us on foot, were just coming down the hill and entered the trail close behind us. A volley of arrows flew by our heads, but our horses carried us in a few seconds beyond the reach of these missiles, and the enemy turned

back. Slackening our speed, we were nearing a point where the road crossed a low spur of the valley-terrace, when suddenly several heads were visible for an instant over the brow of the hill and as quickly disappeared. Guessing instantly that we were cut off by another band of Indians, and knowing that our only course was to run the gauntlet, we rode slowly to near the top of the hill to rest our animals, and then spurred the terrified horses onward, determined if possible to break the ambush. We were on the point of firing into a party of men who came in full view directly as we galloped over the brow of the hill, when a second glance assured us that instead of Apaches they were Americans and Mexicans, burying an American who had been killed that morning. It was the impression of this man's body which we had seen near the creek. He had been to the fort to give notice of the massacre of a family living further down the river, and on his return had met the same fate, about an hour before we passed the spot. An arrow, shot from above, had entered his left shoulder and penetrated to the ribs of the other side, and in pulling this shaft out a terrible feature of these weapons was illustrated. The flint-head, fastened to the shaft with a thong of deer-sinew, remains firmly attached while the binding is dry; but as soon as it is moistened by the blood, the head becomes loose and remains in the body after the arrow is withdrawn. The Apaches have several ways of producing terrible wounds; among others, by firing bullets chipped from the half oxidized matte of old furnace heaps, containing copper and lead combined with sulphur and

arsenic. But perhaps the worst at short range are produced by bullets made from the fibre of the aloe root, which are almost always fatal, since it is impossible to clear the wound.

"On reaching the fort and seeing the commandant, I was told by that officer that he could not take the responsibility of weakening his force, and that the most he could do would be to give me an escort back to the Santa Rita. As the troops from Fort Breckenridge were expected in a few days I was led to expect that after their arrival I might obtain a small number of soldiers. But when, after several days had passed without bringing these troops, the commandant told me that not only would it be impossible to give us any protection at the Santa Rita, but that he could no longer give me an escort thither, I resolved to return immediately with only the boy Juan. In the meantime a rumor reached the fort that a large body of Apaches had passed through the Santa Rita Valley, and probably massacred our people, and were preparing to attack Tubac. I was certainly never under a stronger temptation than I felt then to accept the warmly pressed invitation of the officers to leave the country with the military, and give up all idea of returning to what they represented as certain death. But I felt constrained to go back, and Juan and myself mounted our horses. I had hardly bid the officers good-bye when an old frontiersman, Mr. Robert Ward, joined us, and declared his intention of trying to reach his wife, who was in Tubac. As we left the fort a fine pointer belonging to the commandant followed us, and as

he had become attached to me, we had no difficulty and few scruples in enticing him away to swell our party. We took the hill trail, it being both shorter and safer, and had reached a point within three miles of the Santa Rita without meeting any fresh signs of Indians, when the dog, which kept always on the trail ahead of us, after disappearing in the brush by an arroyo, came back growling and with his tail between his legs. We were then two or three hundred yards from the thicket, and spurring our horses, we left the trail and quickly crossed the arroyo a hundred yards or more above the ambush, for such the fresh Indian tracks in the dry creek had shown it to be.

“We reached our mines safely, and found that although almost constantly surrounded by Apaches, who had cut off all communication with Tubac, there had been no direct attack. Our entire Mexican force was well armed with breachloading rifles, a fact which, while it kept off the Indians, rendered it necessary that our guard over our peons should never cease for an instant. Nor did we once during the long weeks that followed, place ourselves in a position to be caught at a disadvantage. Under penalty of death no Mexican was allowed to pass certain limits, and in turn our party of four kept an unceasing guard, while our revolvers day and night were never out of our hands.

“We had now to cut wood for charcoal and haul it in, stick by stick, not having enough animals to draw the six-horse wagons. This and burning the charcoal kept us nearly three weeks before we could begin to smelt. Our furnaces

stood in the open air about one hundred yards from the main house, and on a tongue of high land at the junction of two ravines. The brilliant light illuminating every object near the furnace exposed the workmen every night, and all night, to the aim of the Apache. In order to obtain timely notice of the approach of the Indians, we picketed our watch dogs at points within a hundred yards of the works; and these faithful guards, which the enemy never succeeded in killing, more than once saved us from a general massacre. The whole Mexican force slept on their arms around the furnace, taking turns at working, sleeping and patrolling, receiving rations of diluted alcohol, sufficient to increase their courage without making them drunk.

“More than one attempt was made by the Apaches to attack us, but being always discovered in time, and failing to surprise us, they contented themselves with firing into the force at the furnace from a distance. In the condition to which we all, and especially myself, had been brought by weeks of sleepless anxiety, nothing could sound more awful than the sudden discharge of a volley of rifles, accompanied by unearthly yells, that at times broke in upon the silence of the night. Before daylight one morning, our chief smelterman was shot while tending the furnace; it then became necessary for me to perform this duty myself, uninterruptedly, till I could teach the art to one of the Americans and a Mexican.

“I foresaw that the greatest danger from the Mexicans was to be anticipated when the silver

should be refined, and made arrangements to concentrate this work into the last two or three days, and leave the mine immediately after it was finished.

“Dispatching a messenger, who succeeded in reaching Tubac, I engaged a number of wagons and men, and on their arrival, everything that could be spared was loaded and sent off. The train was attacked and the mules stolen, but the owner and men escaped, and bringing fresh animals, succeeded in carrying the property to Tubac.

“At last, the result of six weeks’ smelting lay before me in a pile of lead planches containing the silver, and there only remained the separating of these metals to be gone through with. During this process, which I was obliged to conduct myself, and which lasted some fifty or sixty hours, I scarcely closed my eyes, and the three other Americans, revolver in hand, kept an unceasing guard over the Mexicans, whose manner showed plainly their thoughts. Before the silver was cool, we loaded it. We had the remaining property of the company, even to the wooden machine for working the blast, in the returned wagons, and were on the way to Tubac, which we reached the same day, the 15th of June. Here, while the last wagon was being unloaded, a rifle was accidentally discharged, and the ball passing through my hair above the ear, deafened me for the whole afternoon.

“Thus ended my experience of eight months of mining operations in an Apache stronghold.”

As one of the results of the withdrawal of the troops from the Territory, the following, taken

from J. Ross Browne's "Adventures in the Apache Country" gives a vivid description of the desolation of the country around Tubac and also of one of the fights had with the Indians by the settlers:

"Three years ago (about 1858) this beautiful valley, (the Santa Cruz) was well settled by an enterprising set of frontiersmen as far up as the Calabasas ranch, fifteen miles beyond Tubac. At the breaking out of the rebellion, when the Overland Stage Line was withdrawn, the whole Territory as stated in a previous chapter, went to ruin with a rapidity almost unparalleled. The Apaches, supposing they had created a panic among the whites, became more bold and vigorous in their forays than ever. Ranch after ranch was desolated by fire, robbery and murder. No white man's life was secure beyond Tucson; and even there the few inhabitants lived in a state of terror.

"I saw on the road between San Xavier and Tubac, a distance of forty miles, almost as many graves of the white men murdered by the Apaches within the last few years. Literally the roadside was marked with the burial places of these unfortunate settlers. There is not now a single living soul to enliven the solitude. All is silent and deathlike; yet strangely calm and beautiful in its desolation. Here were fields with torn down fences; houses burned or racked to pieces by violence, the walls cast about in heaps over the once pleasant homes; everywhere ruin, grim and ghastly with associations of sudden death. I have rarely travelled through a country more richly favored, yet more depress-

ing in its associations with the past. Day and night the common subject of conversation was murder; and wherever our attention was attracted by the beauty of the country, or the richness of the soil, a stone-covered grave marked the foreground.

“The history of Bill Rhodes, at whose ranch we camped, was an example. In the full tide of success, this daring frontiersman returned to his home one evening, and found his comrades murdered and himself surrounded by a large band of Apaches. By some means, he managed to break through their lines; but his horse being jaded, it soon became apparent that escape was impossible. Just as the pursuing Indians were upon him, he flung himself into a willow thicket and there made battle. A circle was made around him by the blood-stained and yelling devils, who numbered at least thirty; but he was too cool a man to be intimidated by their infernal demonstrations. For three hours, he kept them at bay with his revolver; although they poured into the thicket an almost continuous volley of rifle shots and arrows. A ball struck him in the left arm, near the elbow, and nearly disabled him from loss of blood. He buried the wounded part in the sand and continued the fight till the Indians, exasperated at his stubborn resistance, rushed up in a body, determined to put an end to him at once. He had but two shots left. With one of these he killed the first Indian that approached, when the rest whirled about and stood off. They then addressed him in Spanish, calling him by name, and telling him he was a brave man, and if he

would come out, they would spare his life. “ ‘No,’ said he, ‘D—n you, I’ll kill the last one of you before you shall take me!’ He had given such good evidence of his ability in that way that they held a parley and concluded he was about right; so they retired and left him master of the field. Bill Rhodes’ Apache fight is now one of the standard incidents in the history of Arizona.”

In reference to the Cochise war, Chas. D. Poston says: “The men, women and children killed; the property destroyed, and the detriment to the settlement of Arizona cannot be computed. The cost of the war against Cochise would have purchased John Ward a string of yokes of oxen reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and as for his woman’s son, Micky Free, he afterwards became an Indian scout and interpreter, and about as infamous a scoundrel as those who generally adorn that profession.”

A little prior to this time a company of Maine lumbermen under a captain named Tarbox, established a camp in the Santa Rita mountains to whipsaw lumber at one hundred and fifty dollars per thousand feet, and were doing well. The Heintzelman mine bought all they could produce. They built a house and corral on the south side of the Santa Cruz River, on the road from Tucson to Tubac, called the Canoa, which became a convenient stopping place for travellers on the road. Poston, who had charge of the mine, had made a treaty with the Indians, by which the Indians were to leave them undisturbed in the working of their properties, and they, in turn, were not to interfere with the

Indians in their frequent raids into Mexico. One day, twenty-five or thirty Mexicans rode into Tubac and said the Apaches had made a raid on their ranches and carried off all their horses and mules over the Babaquivera plain, intending to cross the Santa Cruz river between the Canoa and Tucson. The Mexicans wanted the men at the mine to join them in a *cortada* (cut-off) and rescue the animals, offering to divide them equally for their assistance. This was declined because the Apaches had faithfully kept their treaty with the whites at the mine and the whites felt it was their duty in good faith to do the same. The Mexicans went to Canoa and made the same proposition to the lumbermen, who accepted it. They succeeded in forming an ambuscade and fired on the Apaches when they reached the river. The Apaches fled at the fire, leaving the stolen stock behind them. The Mexicans made a fair division and from the sales of the mules to merchants in Tucson, the lumbermen were enabled to add many comforts to their camp at the Canoa on the Santa Cruz.

Within a month thereafter, when the inhabitants of Tubac were passing a quiet Sunday, a Mexican vaquero came riding furiously into the plaza, crying out: "Apaches! Apaches! Apaches!" When he had recovered sufficiently to speak intelligently, he gave the information that the Apaches had made an attack on the Canoa and killed all the settlers. It was late in the day and nearly all the men had gone to the mine, but about a dozen horses and men were mustered. Early the next morning, they started for the Canoa, and when they reached that place

a little after sunrise, it looked as if it had been struck by a hurricane; doors and windows were smashed and the house was left a smoking ruin. The former inmates were lying around, dead; three of them had been thrown into the well head foremost. Seven men were buried in a row in front of the burned house. By the tracks it was thought that there was not less than eighty mounted Apaches in this raid, and they carried off 280 head of animals from the Canoa and the adjoining ranches.

Lieutenant Ives in his exploration in 1857, notes the change of attitude of the Mohave Indians towards the command and attributes it to the machinations of the Mormons who persuaded the Indians that it was the intention of the Americans to divest them of their lands. This was the statement made to the Lieutenant by one of the head chiefs of the Mohaves, and his personal friend.

Emigrants to California continued to pass over the Beale trail, oftentimes suffering the loss of their stock, and sometimes being murdered outright by the Mohaves, Cocopahs, and Tontos. In 1857 and 1858, the Mojaves were brought under subjugation by Colonel Hoffman, which was greatly aided by the establishment of Fort Mohave in 1858, and in 1859 Fort Breckenridge was established for the protection of the Overland Stage route.

In regard to conditions in this part of Arizona, at that time, Van Tramp, in his work entitled, "Our Southwestern Empire" says:

"From 1857 to 1860, a large amount of capital was expended in transporting and erecting ma-

chinery, and developing the silver mines south of Tucson; but in consequence of the inaccessible nature of the country, and the high rates of duties levied upon all importations through Sonora, these enterprises were carried on at great expense and under extraordinary difficulties. Boilers weighing six thousand pounds and heavy engines had to be transported in wagons from Lavaca, in Texas, to the Rio Grande, and thence across the continent to the silver regions, a distance of twelve hundred miles. The roads were almost as nature had made them, rough and rocky, abounding in ruts, pitfalls, and heavy sands, and every mile of the way from the Rio Grande was beset with dangers. Fierce and barbarous Indians lurked behind the rocks and in the deep arroyos, ever on the alert to plunder and murder the little bands of white men who toiled wearily through the inhospitable desert. The sufferings of these hardy adventurers were almost without parallel in the history of human enterprise. Hunger and thirst and burning suns and chilling nights, were among the least of the trials to which they were subject, sudden death from hidden foes or cruel and prolonged torture, stared them in the face at every step. The wayside was lined with the bleached bones of unfortunate men who had preceded them, straggling parties who had fallen victims to the various perils of the journey.

“When after weary months of toil and suffering, the jaded teamsters arrived in Arizona with their precious freight—now literally worth its weight in silver—they found no established homes, no prosperous communities of families to

greet them, but a country as wild as that through which they had passed, almost desolated by the ravages of the Apaches. For three centuries these Bedouins of the desert had continued their depredations upon stock, robbing the ranches, killing the rancheros, and harassing emigrant parties. No industry could prosper under their malign influence. The whole state of Sonora was devastated and the inhabitants in a starving condition. Arizona possessed at least the pretense of military protection. It soon became infested with the refuse population of Sonora, the most faithless and abandoned race, perhaps, on the face of the earth. What the Apaches left undone, in the way of murder and robbery, they seldom failed to complete, and, indeed, were regarded with more distrust by respectable citizens than even the barbarous Indians.

“Nor was this all. The most desperate class of renegades from Sonora and California found Arizona a safe asylum from arrest under the laws. The Vigilance Committee of San Francisco did more to populate the territory than the silver mines. Tucson became the headquarters of vice, dissipation, and crime. It was probably the nearest approach to Pandemonium on the North American continent. Murderers, thieves, cut-throats, and gamblers formed the mass of the population. Every man went around armed to the teeth, and scenes of bloodshed were of every-day occurrence in the public streets. There was neither government, law, nor military protection. The garrison of Tucson confined itself to its legitimate business of getting drunk or doing nothing. Arizona was, perhaps, the only part

of the world under the protecting aegis of a civilized government, in which every man administered justice to suit himself, and where all assumed the right to gratify the basest passions of their nature without restraint. It was literally a paradise of devils. Under such circumstances, it is not a matter of surprise that the progress of the country was slow. It was not a place for honest workingmen or for families. Good people feared to go there. The newspapers were filled with accounts of bloody affrays, robberies, and Apache raids. Yet, despite of all these drawbacks, men of enterprise began to learn the great natural resources of the Territory. The silver mines of Santa Rita and Cerro Colorado attracted attention as they became developed, and in 1860 Arizona seemed in a fair way of receiving a rapid increase of population, and obtaining through Congress what it had long needed—a territorial form of government."

The most notable fight with Indians which occurred about this time was in the spring of 1861, when six men, known as the Free Thompson party, the names of all of whom I have been unable to learn, were attacked by Cochise and Mangus Colorado at Stein's Pass. The men were well armed with improved rifles and two thousand rounds of ammunition, besides side arms. They were attacked by four or five hundred warriors under Cochise and Mangus Colorado; they drove the stage off the road to a little mound where the fight occurred, which lasted, according to the Indian accounts, for three days. Cochise did not have more than one-third of the

warriors Mangus Colorado commanded at this battle. The whites were unable to get water, and the little food they had was soon exhausted. The Indians finally killed them, but at a loss of something like a hundred and thirty-five or forty men. Cochise, himself, admitted that he lost out of his band forty-five men.

This party was on its way from the Mesilla Valley to California; were old frontiersmen, everyone a dead shot, and they fought to the last until every man was killed. Cochise expressed his admiration for their fortitude, and endurance, saying they were the bravest men he ever knew or heard of, that if all his band were equal in bravery and endurance to the six men who defended themselves from behind the little stone breastwork that they had thrown up on the brow of the hill against such overwhelming odds, that he would own Arizona, New Mexico and Sonora.

Charles O. Brown of Tucson, one of the party who buried the bodies of these men, said that the last one killed was badly wounded, and they could trace his course on and around the hill by the blood which flowed from his body.

The withdrawal of the Federal troops from Arizona began in the latter part of the year 1860, and was continued in 1861. Colonel Poston says that in the month of June, 1861, the machinery at Arivaca was running smoothly and the mine was yielding handsomely and two hundred and fifty employees were working for good wages, which were paid punctually every Saturday afternoon. One day he was handed a note from Lieutenant Chapin by an orderly from Fort Buchanan, enclosing a copy of an order from the

commanding officer of the military department, as follows:

“Santa Fe, June, 1861.

“Commanding Officer, Fort Buchanan,—

On receipt of this, you will abandon and destroy your Post, burn your Commissary and Quartermasters stores, and everything between the Colorado and Rio Grande that will feed an enemy.

March out with your guns loaded, and do not permit any citizen within three miles of your lines.

(Signed) Major General Lynde.”

At a council of a number of employees of the mine, it was decided that they could not hold the country against the Apaches after the troops had been withdrawn, for not only would they have to fight the Apaches, but they would have to defend themselves against the Mexican cut-throats as well. It was concluded to reduce the ore they had mined, which was yielding about a thousand dollars a day, pay off the hands and prepare for the worst. The Indians, thinking that the withdrawal of the troops meant that they had conquered the whites and driven these enemies from the territory, became very aggressive and, about a week after the above decision was made, they made a descent upon the Heintzelman mine and carried off a hundred and forty-six horses and mules. Concerning the stealing of this stock and the destruction of the headquarters of the company at Tubac, and also the abandonment of the Santa Rita hacienda, Colonel Poston says:

“The corral at Arivaca was constructed of adobes, with a layer of cactus poles (ocotillo)

lengthwise between each layer of adobe. The Apaches tried their rope saws, but the cactus parted the rope. The bars were up, and a log chain wound around each bar and locked to the post; but they removed the bars quietly by wrapping their serapes around the chain, to prevent the noise alarming the watchman. The steam engine was running day and night, and the watchmen had orders to go the rounds of the place every hour during the night; but the Apaches were so skillful, and secretive in their movements that not the least intimation of their presence on the place was observed—not even by the watchdogs, which generally have a keen scent for Indians.

“At the break of day the Apaches gave a whoop and disappeared with the entire herd before the astonished gaze of five watchmen who were sleeping under a porch within thirty yards. A pursuit was organized as soon as possible; but the pursuers soon ran into an ambuscade prepared by the retreating Apaches, when three were killed and two wounded. The rest returned without recovering any of the stock.

“This loss of stock made very lonesome times at Arivaca, as it could not be replaced in the country, and we had no animals to haul ores, fuel or provisions; only a few riding and ambulance animals, which had to be kept in stables and fed on grain.

“About the same time the Apaches made an attack on the Santa Rita Hacienda, and the eastern side of the Santa Cruz River had to be abandoned.

“At Tubac, the headquarters of the company, where the old Mexican cuartel furnished ample room for storage, about a hundred and fifty thousand dollars worth of merchandise, machinery, and supplies were stored. The Apaches, to the number of nearly a hundred, surrounded the town and compelled its evacuation. The plunder and destruction of property was complete. We had scarcely a safe place to sleep, and nothing to sleep upon but the ground.”

## CHAPTER III.

## EARLY MINES AND MINING.

REPORT OF F. BIERTU — PATAGONIA (MOWRY) MINE — DISCOVERY — FIRST OWNERS — THE EAGLE MINE — THE SAN PEDRO MINE — EMPIRE OR MONTEZUMA MINE — SANTA RITA MINING COMPANY — MARICOPA MINING COMPANY — SONORA EXPLORING AND MINING COMPANY — CAHUABI MINING COMPANY — ARIZONA COPPER MINING COMPANY — SOPORI LAND AND MINING COMPANY — ARIZONA LAND AND MINING COMPANY — COLORADO RIVER COPPER MINE — STEVENSON MINE COMPANY — HARRIS MINE — ST. AUGUSTIN MINING COMPANY — JACKSON, QUARTZ VEIN — SANTA RITA DEL COBRE — ABANDONMENT OF MINES CAUSED BY WITHDRAWAL OF UNITED STATES TROOPS.

In Sylvester Mowry's book: "Arizona and Sonora," 3rd Edition, published in 1864, is given the report of F. Bieriu, metallurgist, on the Mowry mine and others situated in that part of the country, which describes, perhaps better than can be done in any other way, the condition of the mining industry around Tubac and Tucson in the year 1860. The report is as follows:

"My first visit to the Patagonia Mine, now called Mowry Silver Mines, has lasted four days — the time necessary to give it a full examination in all its parts, and to make a careful assay of its ores. But why was it called the Patagonia Mine? Is it because it is situated in a desert inhabited only by Indians? Such were the ques-

tions I put to myself while travelling, and which I thought might be answered affirmatively. Great was my surprise, however, when, instead of finding as I expected, barren mountains as at Washoe and Mono, I gazed on beautiful landscapes, and a country covered with trees of different kinds, with fertile lands perfectly watered. True it is that the nearest neighbors, the Apaches, are far from being even equal to the Patagonians; but this, it seemed to me, could not be a reason for giving to such a beautiful spot, which in spring must be covered with flowers, so savage a name. Mr. Mowry was perfectly right to alter it.

“This property, containing about five hundred acres of land, is situated ten miles from parallel  $32^{\circ} 20'$  north latitude, which forms the limit between Arizona and New Mexico, twenty miles from Fort Buchanan, fourteen from the town of Santa Cruz in Sonora, and at an elevation of 6160 feet from the level of the sea; and a good road, 280 miles in length, and which, with a little repair, might be made excellent, places it in direct communication with Guaymas. By this route, freight from San Francisco to the mine does not go beyond five cents per pound. The mine is situated on the last hills forming the eastern slope of the Sierra de Santa Cruz, and is bounded on the northeast by extensive plains covered with mesquit and oak trees, which reach the line of Sonora,<sup>\*</sup> whose elevated mountains rise in the horizon. Between these plains and the mine is to be seen the Sierra Espuela, called also Wachuka (Huachuca) Mountains.

"The road leading to the mine from Fort Buchanan crosses a range of hills, and mountains completely covered with oak, pine, sycamore, poplar, willow and hazelnut. The land and the hills around the mine are covered with green oak, cedar pine and manzanitas. The whole country abounds with rabbits, quail, and wild turkeys. It is not a rare occurrence to meet droves of deer and antelopes numbering from twenty-five to thirty. The amateur of more intense excitement may also indulge in bear and Apache hunting.

"About a mile from the mine, and near a little village, called Commission, of some fifteen houses, intended for the peons and laborers of the mines, there is a creek called Commission Creek, which is on the property itself, whose waters never dry up, and which are more than sufficient to run one or several mills. The buildings for residences, and those for stores and furnaces, are halfway between the mine and the small village. Near by there is a spring of excellent water, which also never dries up. There are other springs lost in the hills, and which may easily be turned to some purpose.

"The Lodes and Ores;—The principal lode of the Patagonia Mine is composed principally of argentiferous galena, and runs south  $85^{\circ}$  E. Its thickness, which increases as it dips in the earth—now eighty-three feet in depth—is of about three feet. Three small veins, excessively rich, cross each other in the main vein, all running in different directions. The size of these small veins varies from ten to nineteen inches. Other veins, whose outcroppings are visible on the top

of the hill, and which run in a parallel direction at a great distance, will, according to all probabilities, be met with as the working of the mine proceeds. No prospects have as yet been undertaken to ascertain the nature of these veins. The galena of the principal vein contains a small quantity of copper and arsenic. It seemed to me that I detected appearances of zinc, but I had no means to ascertain the fact. An assay of the different ores has given results varying from \$80 to \$706 in silver per ton, and up to sixty-two per cent of lead. Their reduction is of the utmost facility.

“The Shafts and Tunnels;—Unfortunately, all the operations perfected up to this day are, I might say, useless. The labor expended on shafts and tunnels has been conducted so carelessly—the different stratas of earth have been subjected to so little investigation, that while, on one hand unnecessary expense and labor have been incurred, on the other, a quantity of ore, sufficient probably to pay for the whole expense of the establishment, has been thrown aside as worthless. Ores which I have picked up on the creek, being assayed, have given the best results that I have obtained.

“But the actual owners of the mines are not the ones who ought to complain of the bad direction of the works, for, according to my idea, it is principally this bad management which has enabled them to purchase the whole mine at a comparatively low price. However, it will be easy to remedy the evil, either by beginning new works in a more suitable locality, or by modifying those already existing. The quality of the

mine is such as to cover in a short space of time, all the expense which may be incurred in a rational manner.

“The discovery of the Patagonia mine dates only from the Fall of 1858, but it would appear that its existence was suspected long ago, for the first parcels of ore gathered by the Mexicans were taken, at the time of the late discovery, from shafts which had been sunk many years ago, and which had been abandoned.

“The Owners;—The first owners were Colonel J. W. Douglass, Captain R. S. Ewell, Lieutenant J. N. Moore, Mr. Randal, Mr. Lord, and Mr. Doss,—all belonging to the United States Army excepting the last-named individual and Colonel Douglass. Those parties started some preliminary works—sunk shafts, extracted a certain quantity of ore, and built up several furnaces for smelting. But, being short of capital for a regular system of reduction on a large scale, two of the principal shareholders, Messrs. Lord and Doss, who had charge of the whole mine, sold their interest during the year 1858-9 to Mr. Brevoort, who thereupon became superintendent of the mine and principal owner.

“The administration of Mr. Brevoort was not a happy one. The mine, which as I have before stated, had been badly opened and badly worked, being turned into inexperienced hands, fared much worse. A certain quantity of ore was extracted, but, whether the proceeds were expended in useless operations or for any other purposes, they were not sufficient to cover the costs incurred. These failures gave rise to disagreements between the owners, which could not be

settled except by the sale of their whole interest, which Capt. Ewell and his partners made to Mr. Brevoort, this last-named gentleman turning the interest immediately over to Mr. H. T. Titus. But these negotiations did not put a stop to the difficulties, which were renewed on account of the payment of the purchase-money. Consequently, the sale of the whole was resolved upon, and the conveyance took place in the Spring of 1860, in favor of Lieutenant Mowry, all the interested parties joining in the deed. The price of the mine, including the lands surrounding it, all the works and establishment standing at the time, fixed at \$25,000, was paid in cash by the new owner, who some time after sold one-fifth to a wealthy capitalist in the East. Hence four-fifths of the Patagonia Mine are now held by Mr. Mowry, who has given his name to it. In the hands of the last-named gentleman, and under the direction of Mr. Charles Mowry, his brother, the works will be started with unusual activity. Already preparations have been made to carry on works of a considerable extent, so that next Summer the mine will be in full operation.

“The Management of the Mine;—The old furnaces having been badly constructed, and being out of use, they will be replaced by others containing all the later improvements, either for smelting or refining. A steam-engine of fifteen to twenty horse power will be put up for the trituration of the ores, for the working of the pumps, and to run a saw-mill. The waters of the creek will be gathered in large reservoirs, twelve feet in depth, constructed by means of thick embankments. Buildings will be put up

for the accommodation of the superintendent of the mine and the reducing establishment, and for the engineer and other employees. A laboratory for assays will also be annexed to the works. The ores will be carried from the mine to the reducing establishment by a railroad, for the building of which Mr. R. Jones, Jr., has already taken the preliminary steps. Finally for the accommodation of laborers, numbering from seventy to eighty, and for the inhabitants on the frontiers of Sonora, a large store will be opened for the sale of all sorts of provisions and merchandise. The expenses to be incurred this year to put in operation the different projects in view will exceed the sum of \$60,000.

“Such is the history of the mine, which I intended to relate to you with details, because within a short space of time it is called upon to rank among mines of the first class. Even now, in the neighborhood, by the abundance and richness of its ores, the facilities for extraction, and reduction, and the convenience of the locality, it is considered one of the best in Arizona. Its importance would be greatly increased if a project in which rich capitalists of the East are actively engaged, is put in execution, which is to build a railroad between Guaymas and El Paso, in Texas, which would connect with the Pacific Railroad. This road, following the ridge of the Sierra de Santa Cruz, would run at a distance of only ten miles from Mr. Mowry’s mine.

“The mine which I have just described is not the only one to be found in that part of Arizona. The Santa Cruz Sierra already renowned since the days of the Jesuits, who had opened in that

locality the Compadre and French mines, has lately given evidence of new richness. Besides the two which I have just named, the Boundary, Empire, Eagle and St. Louis Mining Companies form a part of the Sierra.

### OTHER MINES.

“The Eagle Mine;—this mine is situated to the east of the Mowry mine, and its vein, composed of argentiferous galena, exactly similar to the Mowry Mine, is, it is stated, its continuation.

“The San Pedro Mine;—this mine is situated on the east side of the San Pedro River, about twenty-five miles from the Overland Mail road, and half a mile from the river.

“Empire or Montezuma Mine;—I have mentioned above this mine as forming a part of the Santa Cruz Sierra. It is half-way between the Mowry Mine and the town of Santa Cruz. The ores are composed of lead and silver. The first owners were Th. Gardner and Hopkins, who it seems, sold their interest out to New York companies.

“Santa Rita Mining Company;—the Sierra de la Santa Rita as that of the Santa Cruz, incloses rich deposits of precious ores. The Cazada, Florida and Salero Mines are united in one company, under the above title. The last one was known a long while ago, and was worked by the Jesuits. In that one also the argentiferous galena dominates. Shortly furnaces will be put up for smelting and reducing; they will be erected on the very mountains of Santa Rita, which are to the east of Tubac, at the distance of about ten miles. The superintendent of the

mine is Mr. H. C. Grosvenor, and Mr. Pumpelly is the engineer. The capital is \$1,000,000. These mines were opened in 1856.

“Maricopa Mining Company;—this company is working a copper mine, situated forty miles from Fort Breckenridge at the junction of the San Pedro and Arivaca Rivers, and from three to four miles south of the Gila. The road known as the Leach Wagon Road, near by, renders the transportation of the ores and provisions quite easy. It is under the direction of Mr. A. B. Gray, ex-surveyor of the United States attached to the commission of the Mexican frontiers, and engineer-in-chief of the Pacific Railroad. Mr. Hopkins is the engineer of the mines; the house of Soulter, of New York is the principal owner.

“Sonora Exploring and Mining Company;—this mine, situated at about thirty miles from Tubac, in the Cerro Colorado, is one of the principal mines, if not the richest in the Territory. The Company is working the vein known as the Heintzelman Mine, rich in argentiferous coppers, and also several other veins on the Rancho Arivaca. The actual and imperfect system of reduction is by means of amalgamating barrels. Steam-engines of forty horse-power with a new process of amalgamation and refining, will soon be introduced. One of the principal shareholders, Mr. Charles D. Poston, is the director, and at the same time lessee of the mine for the term of ten years. This company was incorporated in Cincinnati, Ohio, with a capital of \$2,000,000 divided into 20,000 shares. The sum already expended for the working of this mine is

estimated at \$230,000, either in ready cash or from the proceeds of the mine.

“Cahuabi Mining Company;—the mine going by that name is near meridian 112 and 32 north latitude, in a region inhabited by the Papago Indians. The argentiferous copper ores are treated according to the Mexican amalgamatory process known as the patio. I have seen specimens from this mine in the hands of Mr. Herman Ehrenberg, president of the company, of extreme richness. The mine was opened since 1859.

“Arizona Copper Mining Company;—the bad administration and the difficulties of transportation have been the main causes why this mine, so rich, and which created so much excitement in California two or three years ago, has not given any good results. Its oxides and copper sulphurets are excessively rich, the extraction exceedingly easy, and the veins are numerous. Works at this present moment are suspended. This mine is situated 120 miles southeast from Fort Yuma. It was opened in 1855, and the company was incorporated in San Francisco.

“Arizona Land and Mining Company;—this mine is situated north of the Rancho of Sopori. This company owns a large tract of land, of thirty-two leagues square, on which is situated the old silver mine of San Xavier, which was worked during the time of the Jesuits, and which appears exceedingly rich; other veins, equally rich, are to be found in the center of the property, on the Sierra Tinaja. The company was incorporated in Providence, R. I., with a capital of \$2,000,000. The Honorable S. G. Arnold is the president. The treasurer is Mr. Alfred

Anthony, President of the Jackson Bank of Providence. Colonel Colt, Lieutenant Mowry, and other rich capitalists of the East are the actual owners. Mr. Mowry is the holder of more than one-half of the stock of the company. N. Richmond Jones, Jr., is the engineer-in-chief of this mine, as also of the Sopori Mine.

“Colorado River Copper Mine;—about three years ago a Mr. Halstead, well known in the Colorado districts as an indefatigable prospector, discovered this mine on the shores of the river, at about forty miles from Fort Yuma. Having been examined and tested by experts from New York, they found it to be very extensive and very rich. Several tons sent to San Francisco last year were also admitted to be of uncommon richness. Consequently laborers were engaged in Sonora, and preparations made to work the mine on an extensive scale. Difficulties, however, eventually arose which prevented the completion of the works. The mine is owned by Messrs. Wilcox, Johnson and Hartshorn, owners of the steamer navigating the Colorado, by Mr. Hooper principal merchant at Fort Yuma, and by Lieutenant Mowry.

“Stevenson Mining Company;—this mine has been worked during several years by Mr. Stevenson, according to the Mexican process, and yielded him from \$10,000 to \$50,000. Afterward Mr. Stevenson sold his mine to Major Sprague of the U. S. Army, who organized a company in New York, to which belong General Clarke, Doctor Mills, Mr. Russell of the Pony Express and Missouri bonds notoriety, and several other persons. The mine appears to be

very rich in silver and lead, but it has been wretchedly administered. The Stevenson Mine is situated on the Rio Grande, not far from Mesilla.

“Harris Mine;—the mine belonging to this company was discovered several years ago. It was recently purchased by Lieutenant Mowry of Judge Hoppin, Mr. Cuniff and Mr. Bull. This mine is also on the Rio Grande, six miles from the Stevenson mine. The ore is composed of lead and silver.

“St. Augustin Mining Company;—this mine is also situated on the Rio Grande, and the ores are like the above.

“Several other silver veins supposed to be very rich, have been discovered on the same river, but have not yet been worked. All these mines of the Rio Grande are to be found in the hills at the foot of the Organ Mountains. Besides silver, copper and lead mines, coal mines are also to be found near the Rio Grande in the Organ Mountains, in Arizona Territory. There are also mines of plumbago in the Sierra Rita, and some of iron in different localities.

“Traces of quicksilver have been found in the Heintzelman Mine, belonging to the Sonora Company, but they own particularly rich gold placers and veins of auriferous quartz. The new district of Pino Alto, whose placer diggings were discovered in May last, and which have yielded fine results in gold of a fine quality, is also rich in quartz veins.

“One of the main ones is the one known by the name of Jackson Quartz Vein, owned by G. A. Oury, of Tucson, P. T. Herbert and others.

The vein was discovered in July, 1860, by J. J. Jackson, on Bear Creek, about thirty miles from the Overland Mail Station on the Mimbres River, and twenty-five miles from the Gila River. The vein is two feet in thickness and promises to become exceedingly rich. Specimens taken from a depth of ten feet and which were handed to me by Mr Oury, have yielded more than \$600 of pure gold to the ton. The persons who have visited the Pino Alto district, speak of it as a section of country exceedingly healthy, well wooded, but quite barren in the summer months. A population of 800 to 1000 souls inhabit already the district and the town bearing its name. An express, connecting the district with that of Wells, Fargo & Co., runs between that town and Mesilla.

“Another mine of auriferous quartz, which is stated to be quite rich, was lately discovered ninety miles from Fort Yuma on the Colorado. The owners are Messrs. Halstead and Jaeger, residents of Fort Yuma.

“On the Mimbres River, ninety miles from the Rio Grande, are to be found the renowned mines of Santa Rita del Cobre, worked by Mexicans many years ago, and well known for their richness. These mines and the Hanover Copper Mines, situated in the same locality, were profitably worked a long time ago. The copper, worked into bars, is sent to New York by way of Port Lavaca in Texas. Two new towns, Mowry City and Burchville, are also built on the Mimbres River.

“Auriferous deposits of some importance are also to be found on the shores of the Gila, not

only at its source, but all along its course. When we passed by Gila City, three weeks ago, nothing was spoken of but the discovery of rich deposits of gold on the river. It was stated that Mexicans were gathering from ten to fifteen dollars per day. Besides, at the junction of the Gila and the Colorado, about 300 Mexicans are constantly at work, and obtain excellent pay. The greater part of this gold is forwarded by Mr. Hooper of Fort Yuma.

“The particulars I have just given you, although already quite lengthy, are far from containing all that might be stated in regard to the mineral wealth of the Territory; but I must stop here, as I only intend to give you statements entirely correct.”

The withdrawal of the troops from Arizona meant the destruction not only of valuable mining properties, but also of ranches, that here and there had sprung up in all directions, which it took years thereafter to replace. The population, which had grown to several thousand, sought safety in flight. Those who could, left for their old stamping grounds in the East and West. Those who could not afford to leave, were gathered together in Old Tucson.

Of these conditions, Sylvester Mowry says: “Many lives were lost; property of all description was abandoned; crops to an enormous amount were left standing in the fields; never to be gathered. Never was desolation so sudden, so complete. In my late journey from Tucson to Guaymas, I passed over one hundred and fifty miles of beautiful country, studded with ranches and farms, where at every step were found com-

fortable houses, outbuildings, fences and tilled fields utterly abandoned and tenantless. The mining interest suffered at the same time. Partly through the cowardice of agents and superintendents, partly through the fault of Eastern directors, the various silver mines in Central Arizona were temporarily abandoned, and I was left with a handful of men who were willing to share my fortunes, and, if fate so willed it, be the last Americans in the Territory to fall by the lance or arrow of the Apache. We not only survived, but we built up a great work in the heart of the country; thoroughly demonstrated the great value of the mines, and, what is more and better, proved conclusively that the Apaches are no obstacle to working in the Territory, compared to the great result to be accomplished. It is sufficient proof of this that I did not lose two hours' work in ten months on account of the Indians. Some valuable lives were lost, but it was by recklessly disregarding my repeated injunctions and directions."

## CHAPTER IV.

## CONFEDERATE AND FEDERAL OCCUPATION.

PEONAGE IN NEW MEXICO—SLAVE TERRITORY—ABOLISHMENT OF SLAVERY IN NEW MEXICO—ATTEMPT TO ATTACH NEW MEXICAN TROOPS TO CONFEDERATE CAUSE—ARRIVAL OF LIEUT.-COL. JOHN R. BAYLOR, C. S. A.—ORGANIZATION OF MILITARY GOVERNMENT BY HIM—OFFICIALS—SURRENDER OF UNION TROOPS TO BAYLOR—CONFEDERATE CONVENTION AT TUCSON—GRANVILLE H. OURY ELECTED DELEGATE TO CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—BAYLOR DEPRIVED OF POSITION IN CONFEDERATE ARMY—CONFEDERATE TEXANS TAKE POSSESSION OF TUCSON—ARRIVAL OF CALIFORNIA COLUMN—FIGHT BETWEEN CONFEDERATES UNDER LIEUT. JACK SWILLING AND FEDERALS UNDER LIEUT. JAMES BARRETT—KILLING OF LIEUT. BARRETT—STARS AND STRIPES RAISED AT TUCSON—EVACUATION OF TERRITORY BY CONFEDERATES—FORT BARRETT ESTABLISHED—FORTS BUCHANAN AND BRECKENRIDGE RE-OCCUPIED—CAMP LOWELL ESTABLISHED AND TERRITORY DECLARED UNDER MARTIAL LAW—HISTORY OF FORMATION OF CALIFORNIA COLUMN—REPORT OF OPERATIONS OF CAPTAIN S. HUNTER OF THE CONFEDERATES—CONFEDERATE ENABLING ACT—PROCLAMATION OF JEFF DAVIS DECLARING ENABLING ACT IN FORCE AND TERRITORY ORGANIZED UNDER CONFEDERACY—GRANVILLE H. OURY AND

MARCUS H. MCWILLIE DELEGATES TO CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—COL. BAYLOR AUTHORIZED TO RAISE CONFEDERATE TROOPS IN ARIZONA—HIS SCHEME TO RECOVER ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO FOR THE CONFEDERACY.

From the time of the organization of the Territory of New Mexico, which embraced Arizona, up to 1867, when it was abolished by act of Congress, peonage prevailed in that Territory. Peonage was one of the worst forms of slavery and it is described fully by W. W. H. Davis in his work entitled “El Gringo” as follows:

“Another peculiar feature of New Mexico is the system of domestic servitude called peonage, that has existed and still exists in all the Spanish American colonies. It seems to have been an institution of the civil law, and in New Mexico, is yet recognized by statute, (about 1855). The only practical difference between it and negro slavery is that the peons are not bought and sold in the market as chattels; but in other respects I believe the difference is in favor of the negro. The average of intelligence among the peons is lower than among the slaves of the Southern States; they are not so well cared for, nor do they enjoy so many of the blessings and comforts of domestic life. In truth, peonism is but a more charming name for a species of slavery as abject and oppressive as any found upon the American continent.

“The statutory law recognizing its existence in the Territory is dignified with the title of ‘Law regulating contracts between master and servants.’ This is all well enough on paper, as far as it goes, but the statute is found to be all

upon the side of the master. The wages paid is the nominal sum of about five dollars per month, out of which the peon has to support himself and family. The act provides, among other things, that if the servant does not wish to continue in the service of the master, he may leave him upon paying all that he owes him; this the poor peon is not able to do and the consequence is that he and his family remain in servitude all their lives. Among the proprietors in the country, the master generally keeps a store, where the servant is obliged to purchase every article he wants, and thus it is an easy matter to keep him always in debt. The master is required to furnish the peon with goods at the market value, and may advance him two-thirds the amount of his monthly wages. But these provisions, made for the benefit of the peon, are in most instances disregarded, and he is obliged to pay an enormous price for everything he buys, and is allowed to run in debt beyond the amount of his wages, in order to prevent him leaving his master. When parents are, as the statutes term it, 'driven into a state of slavery' they have the right to bind their children out as peons, and with this beginning, they become slaves for life. When a slave runs away from his master, the latter goes after a justice of the peace, or some other civil magistrate, and takes out a 'warrant of the debt,' which authorizes the arrest of the peon in any part of the Territory. One of the most objectionable features in the system is, that the master is not obliged to maintain the peon in sickness or old age. When he becomes too old to work any longer, like an old horse who is turned out

to die, he can be cast adrift to provide for himself. These are the leading features of peonism, and, in spite of the new name it bears, the impartial reader will not be able to make anything else out of it than slavery."

New Mexico was considered slave territory. The Organic Act had provided that New Mexico should eventually be admitted as a slave or free state as its people in their constitution might decide. The New Mexicans had no slaves, and desired none. The few that were introduced into the territory were mostly as body servants. The Territory being under the control, to a great extent, of Southern men and Southern influences, which controlled the legislation, a law was passed in 1857, prohibiting, under penalty of fine and hard labor in the penitentiary, the residence of free negroes or mulattoes in the Territory for a period exceeding thirty days. And, in 1859, an act was passed 'to provide for the protection of property in slaves in this territory.' It provided punishment for the enticing away or aiding the escape of a slave, making it a felony punishable with imprisonment from four to ten years; it prohibited the furnishing or sale of arms to slaves, and all trade with them except with the master's written consent. It provided stringent and detailed regulations for the return of fugitive slaves, including his sale if not claimed. It forbade masters giving their slaves the use of their time; permitted stripes for insolence and disorderly conduct, and branding for crime; declared that slaves could not testify in court against free persons. It prohibited and annulled all marriages between whites and

blacks; forbade emancipation; required slaves to have passports when absent from their masters' premises, and expressly provided that this law should not apply to peonage, but only to African slavery.

A resolution was adopted in Congress to annul all the acts of the New Mexican Legislature authorizing involuntary servitude except for crime, which passed the house, but not the Senate. This, however, was repealed in December, 1861. In 1865-6 the act of 1857 against free negroes was repealed and in 1866-7 an act was passed abolishing all involuntary servitude in the Territory.

It was generally supposed that public opinion among the natives of New Mexico favored negro slavery and that their sympathies were all with the secession movement, but when the test came it was found that the masses favored the Union cause, and five thousand or six thousand of troops, volunteers and militia, rallied to the support of the Union. They could not, however, be considered as ardent Unionists. This act was inspired more from hatred of the Texans who composed the Confederate invasion. Arizona was thought to be controlled entirely by Secessionists, and the Apaches, and Navajos, while not regarded as partisans of the South, yet it was thought they would be a potent factor in the defeat of the Union forces. Troops in the Territory of New Mexico were barely sufficient for defensive warfare against the Indians, besides there were military stores in New Mexican forts worthy of capture, to say nothing of the excellent opportunity for the display of

Texan patriotism, for it was fully expected that Southern California and Colorado would rally to the Southern cause. It failed because the enterprise was entrusted to Texans alone, whose resources were limited, and New Mexican sympathy for the South and animosity for the National Government proved less potent than their Union proclivities, prejudice against African slavery, and hatred of Texas. California not only remained true to the Union, but sent a column of volunteer troops to drive the rebels out of Arizona; and Colorado, under energetic Union management, was able to control the strong Secession element within her border, and to send a regiment which struck the decisive blow in ridding her Southern neighbor of the invaders.

“It is stated,” says Bancroft, “on authority not very clearly defined, that attempts were made in the Autumn of 1860 and spring of 1861 by Colonel W. H. Loring of the mounted rifles, of later fame in Egypt as Loring Pasha, temporarily in command of the Department, with the aid of Colonel George B. Crittenden, commanding an expedition against the Apaches, both officers having been sent to the territory for that special purpose, to attach the New Mexican troops, through the influence of Southern officers, to the Confederate cause; also that this plan was defeated by the efforts of Lieutenant-Colonel B. S. Roberts. However, this may have been, the rank and file remained true to their allegiance, with the exception of a single soldier, and even he is not known to have joined the enemy. Many of the officers, however, made

haste to espouse the Confederate cause, including Loring—succeeded by Canby in the command—Crittenden, and Major W. H. Sibley. This was in June, 1861, about the same time the territorial secretary, Alexander M. Jackson, resigned his office to go South; and the project of invasion began to assume definite shape.

“Major Sibley was made brigadier-general, and ordered to Texas in July to organize and command the expedition; ex-secretary Jackson became his assistant adjutant-general of the Army of New Mexico, and the order for the brigade to advance was given on November 16th. Before Sibley’s arrival, however, operations had begun. Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor, second mounted rifles, C. S. A., occupied Fort Bliss on the Texas side in July, crossing into New Mexico, and occupying Mesilla on the 25th. On the 1st of August he issued a proclamation as Governor, taking possession in the name of the Confederate States. He declared all offices vacant, organized a military government, fixed the capital at Mesilla, divided the territory into two judicial districts, the first being all east of Apache Pass, and in a proclamation of August 2nd, appointed civil officers, including Jas. A. Lucas as secretary, M. H. McWillie as attorney-general, E. Angerstein as treasurer, and Geo. M. Frazier as marshal; with H. C. Cook and Frank Higgins as judges, and J. A. Roberts as sheriff of the first or eastern judicial district.

“Major Isaac Lynde of the seventh infantry, in command of the southern district of New Mexico, had a force of about 700 men at Fort Fillmore. He was a northern man, whether a

traitor or a coward is not quite clear, but in a few days, perhaps on July 27th, he surrendered his whole force as prisoners of war to Baylor. A little earlier, orders had been sent to the Arizona commandants to abandon Forts Buchanan and Breckenridge, which they did, destroying all property that could not be removed. On the march these garrisons heard of the surrender of Lynde, and directed their course, about 450 strong, to Fort Craig. In December, Baylor's Confederate force was estimated by Canby at 800 Texans, besides 200 or 300 volunteers from the floating Mexican population of Mesilla Valley."

In 1861 a convention was held in Tucson, which formally declared the territory of Arizona a part of the Confederacy, and in August of that year, Granville H. Oury, was elected delegate to the Southern Congress. Baylor, in his proclamation of August 1st, declared the territory of Arizona to comprise all that part of New Mexico south of latitude 34°, and all offices under the laws of "the late United States" or of the territory, vacant, but all laws not inconsistent with those of the Confederate States, were continued in force. He made Mesilla the capital and organized a military government with himself as governor. This act of Baylor's was approved by the Confederate Congress, and Arizona was admitted as a part of the Confederacy, with Granville H. Oury as delegate.

Baylor, in one of his fights with the Indians, poisoned a sack of flour, which killed some fifty or sixty savages. Upon learning of this, Jeff Davis deprived him of his position in the Con-

federate Army, and also of his title of Governor of Arizona. Thereupon Baylor went back to Texas, and was elected to the Confederate Congress in his old district. These facts were told me by a relative of Colonel Baylor's, who is now one of the prominent citizens of this State.

Early in 1862 a force of two or three hundred Texans under Captain Hunter, marched westward from Mesilla, and in February, took possession of Tucson for the Confederacy. There was no opposition. If there were any Union men left they sought safety in flight across the border to Sonora. The details of Hunter's expedition into Arizona are lacking. There is no record that he ever attempted to confiscate any private property belonging to the Unionists. He sent a portion of his command to the Pima Villages, and had it not been for the California troops, 1800 strong, which about that time had arrived at Fort Yuma, there is little doubt but what he would have continued his march to Fort Yuma, and taken possession of the entire territory.

Lieutenant-Colonel West, commanding the advance of General Carleton's California column, sent out parties from Fort Yuma and these were the only troops that came into contact with the Confederates. In February, 1862, Jones was sent with dispatches to Tucson, and fell into the hands of Hunter, who released him and sent him back by another road, bearing the first definite news that Tucson had been occupied by the Confederates. Captain William McCleave, of Company A, First Cavalry, being sent out to look for Jones, was captured with

three men at the Pima Villages on the 6th of April, and was carried to Mesilla, but soon afterwards was exchanged. Captain William P. Calloway was sent up the Gila with a strong force to rescue Captain McCleave. At the Pima Villages, he heard of a Confederate detachment of 16 men said to be under Lieutenant Jack Swilling, and sent Lieutenant James Barrett with twelve men to cut them off. Pursuing the enemy into a chaparral, Barret was killed with two of his men, one or two of the foe being also killed, and three taken prisoners. This was the only skirmish of the campaign with Confederates. It occurred on the 5th of April on the spot known as El Picacho, and it was the only fight between the Confederates and the Union troops on Arizona soil.

On May 20th, Lieutenant-Colonel West, with the advance of the California Column, raised the Stars and Stripes over Tucson. Captain Hunter had retreated to the Rio Grande, losing several men and much property on the way in a fight with the Apaches. A fort was established at the Pima Villages by the Californians, and called Fort Barrett in honor of the only officer killed by Confederate bullets in Arizona. Forts Buchanan and Breckenridge were re-occupied, the latter being named Fort Stanford, but both positions were soon abandoned as the sites were undesirable, and the buildings had been destroyed. A post was also established seven miles from Tucson, at what was later called Camp Lowell. Early in June General Carleton arrived in Tucson, and declared the territory under martial law.

When the California troops were first raised it contemplated landing them at Guaymas, and marching them overland through Chihuahua and Sonora, the consent of the Mexican Government having been obtained for this purpose, but the appearance of Confederate troops in New Mexico and Arizona and their first successes in this territory, caused the authorities to fear that they would establish themselves securely in New Mexico and Arizona, and these territories be used as a base of supplies and lead them to organize a force for the invasion of California, consequently it was decided to reinforce the troops of New Mexico with a force from California, and thus prevent them from obtaining a foothold in New Mexico; hence the formation of the California Column. The following is General Wright's suggestion to the War Department for the organization of this expedition and the indorsement of Major-General McClellan approving the same:

“Headquarters Department of the Pacific,  
San Francisco, Cal., December 9, 1861.

“Brig-Gen. L. Thomas,  
Adjutant-General U. S. Army,  
Washington, D. C.

“General: I beg leave to submit to the consideration of the General-in-Chief the proposition to recapture the forts in Arizona and New Mexico, by a command to move from the southern district of this State, with the exception of a battery of light artillery, which I am now organizing. All the troops required for the expedition are in the southern district. I have ordered a company of the Ninth Infantry,

regulars, to relieve the company of the Third Artillery at San Juan Island; the latter to come to the harbor of San Francisco. A company of the Third Artillery will be designated for the battery. We have the guns, horses and equipment all ready, being those left here by Company C, Third Artillery, (late Ord's Battery). I have now in Southern California, the first California Volunteer Infantry, Colonel Carleton; the first California Volunteer Cavalry, a battalion of five companies, under Colonel Eyre. I estimate that this force, with the battery which I propose to send, will amount to about one thousand five hundred men. They are fine troops and well officered, and under the command of Colonel Carleton, an officer of great experience, indefatigable and active, the expedition must be successful. I have never seen a finer body of volunteer troops than those raised in this State. They are anxious for active service, and, feeling as we all do, that we are able to retake all the forts this side of the Rio Grande, I may be pardoned for urging the movement. The difficulties and delays experienced on the present route of the overland mail show us the absolute necessity for opening the Southern route; and why should we continue to act on the defensive, with Fort Yuma as our advanced post, when we have the power and will to drive every Rebel beyond the Rio Grande?

“In my communication of October thirty-first, I submitted to the General-in-Chief the propriety of our occupying Guaymas, the chief seaport of Sonora, and I still think it of great importance that we should do so, to prevent its

falling into the hands of the Rebels. At that time I was inclined to make Guaymas my base of operations; now I think Yuma a better point from which to move. In anticipation of a favorable reply to the proposition I have made, I shall go on making arrangements to move promptly when authorized to do so.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,  
G. Wright,

Brigadier-General U. S. Army, commanding.  
(Indorsement)

Adjutant-General's Office,  
December 18, 1861.

"If the movement in progress has not already been authorized, please do so at once.

George B. McClellan,  
Major-General."

In accordance with the suggestion of General Wright, the expedition was organized and consisted of the First California Cavalry, five companies, under Colonel Edward E. Eyre; the First California Infantry, ten companies, under Colonel James H. Carleton; a light battery of four brass field pieces, under First Lieutenant John B. Shinn, Third Artillery, U. S. A. Afterwards the First California Infantry, under Colonel George W. Bowie, was sent to reinforce the "Column," the whole amounting to about twenty-five hundred men.

The troops composing this Column were assembled at Fort Yuma in April, where a large amount of military stores had been sent overland from Los Angeles, and by boat from San Francisco. All the boats on the Colorado River

were seized for military purposes, and no one was allowed to pass Fort Yuma without giving a full account of himself, particularly as to his loyalty to the General Government.

In the meantime, on April 5th, Captain Hunter of the Confederate Army had occupied Tucson, with instructions to operate as far down as Fort Yuma. Following is his report of his operations:

“Tucson, Ariz., April 5, 1862.

“Colonel John R. Baylor:

“Sir: After a march, made as rapidly as practicable, from the Rio Grande, attended by some violently stormy weather, but without any accident or misfortune save the loss of one of my men, (Benjamin Mayo), who died at the San Simon, I have the honor of reporting to you my arrival at this place on February twenty-eighth. My timely arrival with my command was hailed by a majority, I may say the entire population, of the town of Tucson. I found rumors here to the effect that the town was about being attacked by a large body of Indians; that the military stores of the Federal Army to a large amount had been burned at Guaymas, and that troops from California were on the march up the Gila River for this place; and these reports were so well accredited that a few of the citizens, more ultra in their Southern feelings than the rest, were about leaving rather than fall into the hands of their Northern foes, to sacrifice all their interests in this place, and look for safety among their Southern brethren on the Rio Grande.

“Immediately after the departure of Colonel Reilly on March third for Sonora, accompanied by an escort of twenty men under Lieutenant Tevis, I started with the rest of my command for the Pima Villages, where, after my arrival, I negotiated friendly relations with the Indians, arrested A. M. White, who was trading with them, purchasing wheat, etc., for the Northern troops, and confiscated the property found in his possession, a list of which I send you. Among the articles confiscated, were one thousand five hundred sacks of wheat, accumulated by Mr. White and intended for the Northern Army. This I distributed among the Indians, as I had no means of transportation, and deemed this a better policy of disposing of it than to destroy or leave it for the benefit (should it fall in their hands) of the enemy.

“While delaying at the Pima Villages, awaiting the arrival of a train of fifty wagons, which was reported to be en route for that place for said wheat, (which report, however, turned out to be untrue), my pickets discovered the approach of a detachment of cavalry, which detachment, I am happy to say to you, we succeeded in capturing without firing a gun. This detachment consisted of Captain McCleave and nine of his men, First California Cavalry. The Captain and Mr. White I sent in charge of Lieutenant Swilling to the Rio Grande.

“I learned also, while at Pima Villages that at every station, formerly Overland, between that place and Fort Yuma, hay had been provided for the use of the Federal Government, which hay I had destroyed at six of the stations

thus provided. My pickets on yesterday reported troops at Stanwix ranch, which is on this side of Fort Yuma, eighty miles.

“Allow me to say in conclusion, that I have no opinion to offer in relation to all these rumors that are afloat, but give them to you as I receive them, knowing that your judgment and experience will dictate the proper course to pursue.

“I am, sir, your obedient servant,

“S. Hunter,

“Captain Company A.”

It seems from Captain Hunter’s report that the only property of any kind confiscated by his command, was that belonging to or supposed to belong to the Federal Government, and the only civilian arrested was Mr. White at the Pima Villages, whom Hunter declared to have been an agent of the Federal Government, engaged in gathering wheat, etc.

The Confederate Congress passed an Enabling Act for the Territory of Arizona, which was approved on January 18th, 1862. The limits of the Territory extended east and west along the Mexican border from the Colorado River to Texas, and followed the 34th parallel of latitude on the north. The seat of Government was fixed at Mesilla. The government organized by Col. Baylor was recognized. The Territory was divided into three Judicial Districts, the three judges of which could act as District Judges and Supreme Court judges in the Territory; probate judges and justices of the peace, the latter of whom were given jurisdiction in cases in which the amount was below one hundred dollars. Appeals could be taken to the Supreme Court of the

Confederate States in all cases where the amount involved was over one thousand dollars. In any matter, however, in connection with slavery, an appeal could be taken to the Supreme Court of the Confederate States, without reference to the amount involved. Slavery was established as a permanent institution in the following language:

“The institution of slavery in said Territory shall receive all necessary protection, both from the Territorial Legislature and the Congress of the Confederate States.” The Pima and Maricopa Indians were protected in their property holdings.

The Executive power was vested in a Governor to be appointed by the President of the Confederate States, who was to hold office for six years and reside at the seat of government in the Territory, also a Secretary of said Territory who was also to hold office for six years.

The Legislative authority of the Territory was vested in the Governor and a Legislative Assembly, the Legislature to consist of a Council and House of Representatives, each to have thirteen members at its first session, to be increased thereafter by the Legislature as the population increased, but the whole number at no time to exceed thirty-nine.

The franchise was given to every free, white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who should be a resident of the Territory, but no officer, soldier, seaman or marine, or any other person in the Army or Navy of the Confederate States, or attached to troops in the service of the Confederate States, not being a citizen of the said Territory, was allowed to vote or hold office in said Territory.

This enabling act was a long instrument, covering almost every point, the principal thing, however, being that everywhere slavery was fully protected and established. It was to take effect upon the proclamation of the President, which was as follows:

**“BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA: PROCLAMATION.**

“Whereas, an act of the Congress of the Confederate States of America entitled ‘An act to organize the Territory of Arizona,’ was approved by me on the 18th day of January, 1862; and whereas, it is therein declared that the provisions of the act are suspended until the President of the Confederate States shall issue his proclamation declaring the act to be in full force and operation, and shall proceed to appoint the officers therein provided to be appointed in and for said Territory:

“Now, therefore, I, Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America, do issue this my proclamation declaring said ‘Act to organize the Territory of Arizona,’ to be in full force and operation, and that I have proceeded to appoint the officers therein provided to be appointed in and for said Territory.

“Given under my hand and the seal of the Confederate States of America at Richmond, this fourteenth day of February, A. D. 1862.

“By the President:

“(Seal)

Jefferson Davis.

“R. M. T. Hunter,  
“Secretary of State.”

There is no record that I have been able to find that the Confederate Government in Arizona was fully established. Granville H. Oury was recognized as a Delegate from Arizona Territory from January 18th, 1862, and admitted to his seat. The Territory was represented by Marcus H. McWillie, who was admitted March 11th, 1862. It does not appear whether the term of Mr. Oury had expired, or whether he had resigned. McWillie held his position until the close of the War.

On May 29th, 1862, Col. Baylor, the Governor of Arizona, was authorized to raise five battalions for the Confederate service. This amount of men was probably enlisted in the Confederate Army from Arizona.

December 21st, 1864, John R. Baylor, who had been elected to the Congress of the Confederate States, and had been admitted to his seat May 2nd, 1864, wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, urging that an expedition be sent into New Mexico and Arizona to recover those territories. He urged that by recapturing Arizona, a route would be opened into Southern California, and that from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand men could be raised in California and in Arizona and New Mexico for the Confederate cause. He also stated that quite a large number of men could be enlisted in Mexico. He insisted that that was the opportune time for making the effort. The proposition was submitted to the President of the Confederate States, and in his reply under date of January 5th, 1865, Jeff Davis said:

“The commanding general of the Trans-Mississippi Department could best judge of the propriety of detaching any portion of his command for the proposed expedition into New Mexico and Arizona. We can here decide that if a large force would be requisite that it would be impracticable to spare it. If it be possible to raise in Mexico and in New Mexico and Arizona a number of Southern refugees from California and elsewhere equal to the smallest number named, and who would organize themselves for service with our armies in the field, it would certainly invoke every feasible effort to accomplish such an end. Colonel Harrison thought that could be done and suggested the peculiar capacity of the Hon. Mr. Baylor for the service indicated—that of raising the force and putting it into service.”

January 24th, 1865, Col. Baylor again urged the Secretary of War for permission to fit out the expedition in Texas to invade New Mexico and Arizona. I make the following extract from his letter:

“Once in the Territories, which are now abundantly supplied with goods, enough property could be confiscated for the use of the Government to defray the expenses of the troops, and as the United States Government is now working numerous silver mines I see no reason why we might not control the same mines and make them yield a revenue for our purposes.

\* \* \* \* \*

“It will be remembered that there has been no attempt to recruit for our Government in this section of the country, and so strong is the

Southern feeling in Southern California that the United States Government has never succeeded in enforcing the conscript law or draft there. The people, never having felt the ravages of war, are enthusiastic and would not hesitate to join us in this struggle for independence. Should you think proper to honor me with a commission for the enterprise I have suggested I can only say that I will, as I have ever done, serve my country with all the zeal and ability I possess."

At this time Grant was hammering Lee's dwindling army in front of Richmond; Sherman was driving before him the small force of Johnson on his victorious march from Atlanta to the sea; everything indicated the speedy collapse of the Confederate Government, so no action was taken in the matter, and it is surprising that Col. Baylor could not realize the fact that the Government at Richmond was rapidly nearing its downfall.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE LABORS OF THE CALIFORNIA COLUMN.

ASSEMBLING OF COLUMN AT FORT YUMA—ITS MARCHES—ARRIVAL AT TUCSON—LETTER OF COLONEL CARLETON—ORDER FOR ARREST OF SYLVESTER MOWRY—MOWRY HELD PRISONER AT FORT YUMA AND HIS PROPERTY CONFISCATED—MOWRY'S SIDE OF THE STORY—HIS RELEASE AND RESTORATION OF HIS PROPERTY IN VALUELESS CONDITION—CARLETON PLACES TERRITORY UNDER MARTIAL LAW—CARLETON MADE BRIGADIER-GENERAL—TAXES UPON MERCHANTS IN TUCSON—FOOLING THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS—BILL BOWERS AND HIS CONTRACT FOR BARLEY—HANK 'N' YANK—C. O. BROWN'S CONTRACT WITH LIEUT.-COL. WEST—FIGHT WITH APACHES—CAPTAIN T. J. JEFFORDS—GENERAL CARLETON'S REPORT TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL—OUTRAGES BY THE INDIANS.

In relation to the expedition of the California Column up the Gila River, I quote from the "Record of California Men in the War of the Rebellion," Adjutant-General's Office, 1890:

"The troops composing the column were assembled at Fort Yuma in April, and early in that month information was received at that post that the Confederates, under Hunter, were on their way down the Gila, when a reconnoitering party, under Captain William P. Calloway, consisting of his own Company I, First California Infantry, a detachment of Company A, First

California Cavalry, under Lieutenant James Barrett of Company A and E. C. Baldwin of Company D, and a detachment of Company K, First Infantry, under Lieutenant Jeremiah Phelan, with two mountain howitzers, was sent out with orders to proceed along the Overland route as far as Tucson. This command reached the Pima Villages with no other signs of the Confederates than a number of burned haystacks at the different stations. Upon approaching the Picacho, April 15, 1862, the Indian scouts brought information that a detachment of Confederates was in the immediate front. The detachment of cavalry was ordered to make a wide detour, so as to strike them on the flank, while the Captain, with the main party, was to attack them in front. The enemy was not found in the immediate front, but, after travelling several miles, rapid firing was heard in advance, and, arriving upon the spot, it was found that Lieutenant Barrett had located the Rebel pickets, and the first information they had of the Union forces was their charging in among them. Lieutenant Barrett and two men were killed and three men wounded. These were the first California Volunteers killed or wounded during the war. The Rebel loss was two men wounded and three prisoners. The graves of the Union Lieutenant and his men may now be seen within twenty feet of the Southern Pacific Railroad, as it goes through Picacho Pass. The Union forces remained on the ground that night, and the next morning, the Captain, against the protest of all his officers, ordered his party to fall back. Near Stanwix Station they met the ad-

vance of the 'California Column' under Colonel West, when all proceeded to the Pima Villages, where a permanent camp was established, and earthworks thrown up about the flouring mill of Mr. Ammi White, who had been carried away prisoner by Captain Hunter, a few days before. This earthwork was named Fort Barrett, in honor of the young Lieutenant who had been killed in the skirmish at the Picacho. A halt was made here to allow the different detachments of the 'Column' to close up, as not over four companies could move together over the desert on account of the scarcity of water. On the fifteenth of May Colonel West, with the advance detachment, moved out of Fort Barrett for Tucson. They moved up the Gila River to old Fort Breckenridge, near the confluence of the Gila and San Pedro Rivers, where the American flag was again run up on the flagstaff of the Fort, amid the cheers of the men. On the morning of the twentieth, Tucson was occupied, the Confederates having abandoned it on the approach of the 'California Column,' and returned to the Rio Grande."

According to the official communication of Colonel Carleton to the Adjutant-General of the United States Army, San Francisco, California, under date of May 25th, from Fort Barrett, Pima Villages, the advance guard of the California Column, under Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph R. West, First Infantry, California Volunteers, took possession of Tucson, Arizona, on the 20th of that month, without firing a shot. The report says that all the Secession troops who were in the Territory, and all the Secessionists, had fled, the

troops to the Rio Grande, the citizens to Sonora. That the arrival of the Union troops was hailed with joy, and that the troops would, doubtless, be able to get some forage, flour and beef, and, perhaps, some sugar from Sonora.

The next official communication from Colonel Carleton, was dated from Tucson, June 10th, 1862. In it he says:

“I am making every endeavor to get supplies together. \* \* \* Meantime, I shall try to straighten up matters here so that when a man does have his throat cut, his house robbed, or his field ravaged, he may at least have the consolation of knowing that there is some law that will reach him who does the injury. I enclose herewith a paper which seems to touch this point. I have not called it a proclamation, because, nowadays, every military commander makes one, and I had hoped to shun, in this respect, their example. Whatever name the instrument may go by, I hope the General will see nothing in it that is not just and called for by the necessities of the case. It already seems to have gratifying results.

“I shall send to Fort Yuma, for confinement, starting them to-day, nine of the cutthroats, gamblers, and loafers who have infested this town to the great bodily fear of all good citizens. Nearly every one, I believe, has either killed his man, or been engaged in helping to kill him. I shall send on a detailed account of the causes which justify their arrest and removal from the territory. They should be held prisoners at Alcatraz until the end of the war. If discharged

at Fort Yuma, they will get back here again and give trouble.

“I have sent to arrest Mr. Sylvester Mowry, and all the people at his mine. It is possible I shall be obliged to hold Mr. Mowry as a prisoner. That he has been guilty of overt as well as covert acts of treason, there is hardly a doubt. I consider his presence in this territory as dangerous to its peace and prosperity. Inclosed are copies of certain charges against him, and of the instructions for his arrest.

“In a few days I will inform the General of my fortune and prospects in getting supplies from Sonora.”

The charges which caused the arrest of Mr. Mowry were made by one T. Scheuner, metallurgist at the Mowry Silver Mine, and were conveyed to General Carleton in a letter under date of May 11th, 1862.

The order for Mowry’s arrest is as follows:

“Headquarters Column from California,

Tucson, June 8, 1862.

“Colonel: The Colonel commanding confides to your charge the duty of arresting and conveying to this post, as a prisoner, one Sylvester Mowry, now at the Patagonia Mines, some ninety miles distant from here near the Sonora line.

“Charges of a treasonable complicity with Rebels have been preferred against Mowry, and there is little doubt but what he has rendered assistance and furnished supplies to their forces. From the moment that he falls into your hands, you will interdict all communications by word or sign between him and his people, except such as you shall personally supervise.

“You will seize all his personal papers and any documents of a political character that you may find on the premises and bring them to these headquarters.

“You will also take into custody and bring as prisoners to this post all persons whom you find at the Patagonia Mines, using such discretion in your control of them as will prevent their doing anything to the prejudice of your movements or to the United States Government.

“You will see that your prisoners have supplies for the road; and you may, if necessary, use any subsistence that falls into your hands at the mines.

“You must bring every man that you arrest to this post without fail. It is reported that a respectable German was murdered quite recently at the Patagonia Mines. You will make careful inquiry into this matter and report the facts.

“In order to protect the interests of the owners of the Patagonia Mines, on taking possession of the same, you will make a minute inventory of all the movable property comprising mining implements and machinery, cattle, horses, arms, provisions, and any other articles appertaining to the mines. This inventory must be verified and signed in duplicate by yourself and by the two officers next in rank of your command. One copy of this inventory you will leave with the commanding officer of the guard that you place in charge of the mine, who will be held responsible for the safe keeping and preservation of the property named upon it. You will bring all supplies, arms and ammunition found at the

mine to the post, using of either such as you may need for your command.

“As soon as you have complied with the foregoing instructions, you will leave such guard in charge of the mine and property as you may deem adequate for security. Captain Willis and his twenty-five infantrymen will perhaps be sufficient, but of this you must be the judge. Then return with the remainder of your command to this post. Should an opportunity offer in the meantime, you will report progress to these headquarters. At the Patagonia Mine, and in the vicinity and en route thereto, you will ascertain and report upon the facilities available for subsisting troops and foraging animals.

“The force entrusted to your command for the execution of the foregoing duties, comprises sixty of the First Cavalry, California Volunteers, Captain Fritz commanding, and twenty-five of the First Infantry, California Volunteers, Captain Willis; the latter officer with twelve men you will find in advance at Brevoort’s Ranch.

“The cavalry have rations to the twentieth, the infantry to the thirtieth instant.

“The whole command is supplied with fifty rounds of ammunition per man.

“Inclosed herewith is an extract from a letter which should claim your careful consideration.

“I have the honor to be, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,

Ben C. Cutler,

“First Lieutenant, First Infantry, California  
Volunteers Acting Asst. Adjutant-General.

“Lieut.-Col. Edward E. Eyre, First Cavalry,  
California Volunteers, Tucson.”

And, on June 16th, 1862, the Colonel commanding issued the following:

“Special Orders.

No. 17

Tucson, Arizona, June 16, 1862.

Headquarters Column from California.

1. A Board of Officers, to consist of Lieut-Col. Joseph R. West, First Infantry, California Volunteers, and Captain Nicholas S. Davis, First Infantry, California Volunteers, will assemble at this post at 4 p. m. today, or as soon thereafter as practicable, to investigate certain charges and facts tending to show that Mr. Sylvester Mowry, of the Patagonia Mines, in this territory, is an enemy to the Government of the United States, and that he has been in treasonable correspondence and collusion with well known Secessionists, and has offered them aid and comfort when they were known publicly to be enemies of the legally constituted authority and Government of the United States.

“The Board will be duly sworn to the faithful performance of its duty, and will examine witnesses on oath, and will examine and make certified extracts from such documents as may be laid before them, which may have immediate or important bearing on these points, and the Board will report, in writing and in full, the evidence it receives on all these matters, and its opinions whether or not there are sufficient grounds to restrain of his liberty and bring to trial before a Military Commission, the said Mr. Sylvester Mowry.

2. The Board will also inquire into the truth of a report that a respectable German citizen was

recently murdered at or near Patagonia Mines, in this Territory, and report in writing the evidence in the case and their opinion, in the event they find the report to be true, as to who are probably the guilty parties.

“The record of this investigation will be made up separately from that ordered in the first paragraph hereof.

3. Second Lieut. Erastus W. Wood, First Infantry, California Volunteers, is appointed Secretary of the Board, and will be duly sworn by the President thereof to a faithful discharge of his duties as such.

“By order of Colonel Carleton.

Ben C. Cutler,  
First Lieut. First Infantry, Cal. Vols.  
A. A. A. Gen'l.”

On the 16th of July, 1862, the Board so appointed to investigate the acts of Mr. Mowry, reported as follows:

“Headquarters Column from California.  
Tucson, Ariz., July 16, 1862.

“The Board having examined the foregoing personal testimony and documentary evidence, as directed by Special Orders No. 17, and by the letters of the Colonel commanding the Column from California to the President of this Board, which said order and letters are copied on and made part of these records, are of opinion that said Sylvester Mowry is an enemy to the Government of the United States, and that he has been in treasonable correspondence and collusion with well known Secessionists, and has offered them aid and comfort when they were known publicly to be enemies to the legally con-

stituted authority and Government of the United States, and that there are sufficient grounds to restrain the said Sylvester Mowry of his liberty, and bring him to trial before a Military Commission.

J. R. West,  
Lieutenant Colonel, First Infantry, California  
Volunteers, President.

Charles A. Smith,  
Captain, Fifth Infantry, California Volunteers.

Nicholas S. Davis,  
Captain, First Infantry, California Volunteers.

Erastus W. Wood,  
Second Lieutenant, First Infantry, California  
Volunteers, Secretary."

Sylvester Mowry was held a prisoner at Fort Yuma for nearly six months, and was never brought to trial. Mowry himself declares that it was a matter of personal spite on the part of Colonel Carleton. He says:

"In June, 1862, the proprietor of the Mowry Silver Mines was seized by a large armed force, under the orders of General J. H. Carleton, while in the legitimate pursuit of his business, and retained as a political prisoner for nearly six months. This seizure was made upon a false, ridiculous and malicious charge. After nearly six months' close confinement, the writer was discharged, '*there being no evidence*' (in the opinion of the court which tried his case) '*either oral or documentary against him;*' a charming commentary upon the constitutional guarantee to every citizen of 'life, property, and the pursuit of happiness.' The mines were placed in

the hands of a dishonest and incompetent man as government receiver, who did much damage, caused great loss, and finally, on being obliged to give up his place, made away with nearly all the goods, wood, coal, arms and stores at the mines. No improvements were made during this person's administration, and the property now being held by the Federal Government, under pretense of the Confiscation Act, none can be made by the owner until his property is restored to his possession. This will undoubtedly be done as soon as the authorities at Washington can be heard from, as the seizure was illegal, and dictated by personal hostility on the part of General Carleton."

Sufficient to say that after being held a prisoner at Fort Yuma for a period of nearly six months, and his property being confiscated, Mowry was released, and afterwards his property was restored to him, but in a condition that left it valueless as far as he was concerned. He was never afterwards able to re-finance it.

The following is a copy of an order by Colonel Carleton organizing the Territory of Arizona, and placing it under martial law:

"To all whom it may concern:

"The Congress of the United States has set apart a portion of New Mexico, and organized it into a Territory complete by itself.

"This is known as the Territory of Arizona. It comprises within its limits all the country eastward from the Colorado River, which is now occupied by the forces of the United States, known as the 'Column from California.' And as the flag of the United States shall be carried

by this Column still further eastward, these limits will extend in that direction until they reach the furthest geographical boundary of this Territory.

“Now, in the present chaotic state in which Arizona is found to be, with no civil officers to administer the laws, indeed, with an utter absence of all civil authority, and with no security of life and property within its borders, it becomes the duty of the undersigned to represent the authority of the United States over the people of Arizona, as well as over all those who compose, or are connected with, the Column from California.

“Thus, by virtue of his office as Military Commander of the United States forces now here, and to meet the fact that wherever within our boundaries our colors fly, there the Sovereign power of our country must at once be acknowledged and law and order at once prevail, the undersigned as a Military Governor assumes control of this Territory until such time as the President of the United States shall otherwise direct.

“Thus also it is hereby declared that until Civil officers shall be sent by the Government to organize the civil Courts for the administration of justice, the Territory of Arizona is hereby placed under martial law.

“Trials for capital offenses shall be held by a Military Commission, to be composed of not more than thirteen nor less than nine commissioned officers.

“The rules of evidence shall be those customary in practice under the common law.

“The trials shall be public, and shall be trials of record; and the mode of procedure shall be strictly in accordance with that of Courts martial in the Army of the United States.

“Unless the public safety absolutely requires it, no execution shall follow conviction unless the orders in the case by the President shall be known.

“Trials for minor offenses shall be held under the same rules, except that for these a Commission of not more than five nor less than three commissioned officers may sit, and a vote of the majority shall determine the issue. In these cases the orders of the officer organizing the Commission shall be final.

“All matters relating to rights in property and lands which may be in dispute, shall be determined for the time being by a Military Commission, to be composed of not more than five or less than three commissioned officers. Of course, appeals from the decisions of such Commissions can be taken to the civil Courts when once the latter have been established.

“There are certain fundamental rules for the government of the people of this Territory, which shall be rigidly enforced;

1. No man who has arrived at lawful age shall be permitted to reside within this Territory who does not, without delay, subscribe to the oath of allegiance to the United States.

“No words or acts calculated to impair that veneration which all good patriots should feel for our country and Government will be tolerated within this Territory or go unpunished, if sufficient proof be had of them.

“No man who does not pursue some lawful calling, or have some legitimate means of support, shall be permitted to remain in the Territory.

“Having no thought or motive in all this but the good of the people, and aiming only to do right, the undersigned confidently hopes and expects in all he does to further these ends to have the hearty co-operation of every good citizen and soldier in Arizona.

“All this is to go into effect from and after this date, and will continue in force unless disapproved or modified by General George Wright, United States Army, commanding, the Department of the Pacific, under whose orders the Column from California has taken the field.

“Done at headquarters of the Column from California, in Tucson, Ariz., this eighth day of June, A. D. 1862.      James H. Carleton,  
Colonel First California Volunteers, Major  
U. S. Sixth Cavalry.”

This instrument or proclamation was approved by General Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific in words following:

“Headquarters Department of the Pacific.

San Francisco, June 28, 1862.

“The proclamation of Col. James H. Carleton, now Brigadier-General of Volunteers, U. S. Army, dated at his headquarters in Tucson, Territory of Arizona, June 8, 1862, is hereby approved and confirmed, and will remain in full force until the civil authority shall be re-established in the Territory.

G. Wright,

Brigadier-General U. S. Army, Commanding,”

Colonel Carleton was made a Brigadier-General on April 28th, 1862, and his commission reached him in June of that year. Upon declaring himself Military Governor of Arizona, he appointed assistant adjutant-general Benj. Clark Cutler, to be Secretary of the Territory of Arizona "while the said Territory remains under martial law, or until the time his successor shall be appointed to take his place."

His duties were to record and preserve all the acts and proceedings of the Governor in the Executive Department, and to transmit an authentic copy of these acts and proceedings through the General commanding the Department of the Pacific, to the President of the United States on the last day of every month. The Secretary of State was also empowered to administer oaths.

This proclamation was dated from Tucson, June 11, 1862. On the same date General Carleton issued the following proclamation:

"Executive Department, Territory of Arizona.

Tucson, Ariz., June 11, 1862.

"To All Whom It may Concern:

"Be it known, that by virtue of the authority vested in myself as Military Governor of Arizona, I hereby empower the following officers with the right to administer oaths within this Territory while it shall remain under martial law; that is to say:

"Lieut.-Col. Joseph R. West, First Infantry, Cal. Vols.; Lieut.-Col. Edward E. Eyre, First Cavalry, Cal. Vols.; Maj. Edwin A. Rigg, First Infantry, Cal. Vols.; Maj. Theodore A. Coulter, Fifth Infantry, Cal. Vols.; Maj. David Ferguson, First Cavalry, Cal. Vols.; Capt. Treadwell

Moore, Assistant Quartermaster, U. S. Army, also the Presidents and Judge-Advocates of Military Commissions, when such commissions are in session.

James H. Carleton,  
Colonel First Cal. Vols., Major U. S. Sixth Cavalry.

“By the Governor.

Benj. C. Cutler,  
Acting Asst. Adj. Genl. Military Secretary of State.”

And, on the following day he issued the following:

“Executive Department, Ariz. Territory.

Tucson, June 12, 1862.

“To All Whom It may Concern:

“Be it known:

I. That from and after this date a monthly tax of five (\$5) dollars for license to trade shall be levied on all merchants in Tucson, Arizona, including those who shall traffic within a mile in every direction from its suburbs, whose monthly sales of merchandise amount to five hundred (\$500) dollars, or under, and an additional tax of one (\$1) dollar per month for each additional monthly sale of one hundred dollars.

II. That every keeper of a gambling house within the aforesaid limits shall pay a tax of one hundred (\$100) dollars per month for each and every table in said house whereon any banking game is played.

III. That every keeper of a bar, where wines, spirituous or malt liquors are to be sold, shall pay a tax of one hundred (\$100) dollars per month to keep said bar.

IV. All keepers of gambling-houses, for the non-payment of license for gambling tables, will be fined fifty (\$50) dollars for the first offense; for the second offense he shall have his money, implements, tools, etc., seized and the same shall be confiscated, and he shall pay a fine of one hundred (\$100) dollars, and be forbidden to again gamble in this Territory.

V. Any person who, after this date, shall sell, without a license, any intoxicating liquors or drinks, shall be fined fifty (\$50) dollars for the first offense; for the second offense he shall pay a fine of one hundred (\$100) dollars, and forfeit all the liquors in his possession.

VI. The commanding officer of Tucson is hereby empowered to grant licenses under these rules, and collect all taxes, fines and forfeitures. The moneys thus collected shall be turned over to the Medical Director, who shall receipt for the same and add it to the Hospital Fund, to be used exclusively for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers belonging to the Column from California until further orders.

VII. All sales made by the Government of the United States shall be exempt from taxation, and no license is necessary for the sale of forage, subsistence stores, fruits or vegetables.

“By order of Colonel Carleton.

Ben C. Cutler,  
Act. Asst. Adj.-Genl. Military Secretary of  
State.”

Times were evidently booming among speculators and adventurers at Tucson following the advent of the California Column. As an evi-

dence of this, I quote the following from Hiltzinger's "Treasure Land":

"Money was easily made when the California volunteers came to Tucson in 1863. Barley brought ten cents a pound and was hard to get at any price.

"The quartermaster's office used to be about where the New Orndorff Hotel now stands, and the scales stood just outside.

"On one occasion, Bill Bowers learned that the quartermaster was short on barley, and that Nick Chambers had all there was in town, about a wagon load. Billy hunted up the quartermaster and contracted to deliver ten loads at a high figure, the grain to be weighed on the scales and then delivered at the corral half a mile away. Being an ignorant frontiersman, he didn't want any vouchers or other red tape about the business, and insisted upon receiving cash for each load as it was weighed.

"Having arranged these preliminaries to his satisfaction he began business by borrowing a team from Nick Chambers and the use of his load of barley. Loading it on the quartermaster's scales, he received its value and re-loaded it again. He ought to have taken it to the corral according to contract, but seeing that it was only borrowed, he didn't feel that it was right to do this, besides a little more weighing wouldn't hurt it in the least, so making a detour, he returned it to the scales and received another payment for it. He was again on the horns of a dilemma. If he took the grain to the corral, he was disposing of property which didn't belong to him, and if, on the other hand,

he failed to deliver ten loads to the Government, he violated his contract. Billy solved the problem by weighing the barley ten times, and then returning it to its owner, a trifle the worse for handling, but still merchantable. Half an hour afterwards he was on the road to Tubac, and has not been heard of since.

“Nick Chambers swore that he was not privy to the scheme, and believed the barley had been borrowed just to give the animals a smell of decent feed, but as he was reputed to be a shrewd trader, the popular verdict was against him.

“Hank and Yank, as well as others, coined money on hay contracts. If they didn’t get two or three heavy weight teamsters on the scales for good measure it was because the scales were fixed otherwise. Up at a camp near Maricopa they built a stone corral with the rocks that came in the hay.”

(The real names of Hank ‘n’ Yank were Hank Hewitt and John Bartlett.)

At the time of the occupation of Tucson by the California Column under Lieutenant-Colonel J. R. West, who was appointed the military commander of that town, Charles O. Brown, who afterwards became identified with the early history of Arizona, was running a gambling-house and saloon in Tucson. He made the following statement to the writer: “That he received notice from Colonel West, asking him to meet him at a certain place just outside of the town walls for a conference. Brown feared at the start that West intended to arrest him, but the Colonel asked him why he did not leave the Territory with the Confederates when they left. Brown’s reply

was that he was born in New York; that he was in Tucson before they came, and he concluded the best thing for him to do was to remain there after they had left." After some other preliminary talk, the Colonel asked him if he would like to have the exclusive privilege of selling liquor and running a gambling hall in Tucson. Brown said he would. The Colonel then said he would give it to him if he would pay him five hundred dollars a month for the privilege, which Brown consented to do. The only condition placed upon him was that he should not sell liquor to drunken soldiers; that when they came under its influence, to allow them to have no more. Brown said that he made a great deal of money through this privilege; that his saloon was crowded all the time, and that he had a little back room where the officers congregated and where he gave them the best that he could find in the way of alcoholic stimulants, which kept them all in line.

The only authority for this statement is that made by Brown himself to the writer. He further said that after the withdrawal of the main body of troops from Tucson and its neighborhood into New Mexico, he followed them to Mesilla, where he continued the business. After the disbanding of the California Column, Brown returned to Tucson and settled permanently.

There was some difficulty in establishing communication between the California Column and General Canby, who was in command of the Federal forces in New Mexico. On the 15th of June, 1862, General Carleton sent from Tucson an expressman, John Jones, and Sergeant

Wheeling, of Company F, First Infantry, California Volunteers, and a Mexican guide named Chavez, with communications for General Canby. On the 18th these men were attacked by a party of Apaches. Sergeant Wheeling and the guide, Chavez, were killed, and Jones made a miraculous escape, succeeded in getting through the Indians, and, after a hot pursuit on their part, reached the Rio Grande at a point known as Picacho, six miles above Mesilla, where he was taken prisoner by the Secessionists, who brought him before Colonel Steele who examined him, took his dispatches and threw him in jail. He managed, however, to get word to General Canby that he was there, and that the Column from California was really coming, an achievement which was considered absolutely impracticable, and this was the first intimation given either to Federal or Confederate troops that the advance of the California Column was then at Tucson. General Carleton says: "As soon as Steele ascertained this matter as a fact, hurried preparations were made to abandon the country. Meantime General Canby had sent a large force to Fort Craig to move on Mesilla as soon as transportation could be provided."

About this time Captain T. J. Jeffords was sent from Mesilla, New Mexico, by General Canby, as a bearer of dispatches to General Carleton, which he delivered in person.

There were several battles between the Federal and Confederate forces in New Mexico before the retirement of the former into Texas, which, however, have no part in this history.

In an official communication to the Adjutant General in San Francisco, under date of September 20th, 1862, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, General Carleton, who had succeeded General Canby in command in New Mexico and Arizona, says:

“I left Tucson myself on the twenty-third of July, passed Colonel West with most of the troops, encamped on the San Pedro on the twenty-fourth, and led the advance of the Column from that point to Las Cruces, New Mexico, with one company of infantry and two of cavalry. From the hostile attitude of the Chiricahuas, I found it indispensably necessary to establish a post in what is known as Apache Pass; it is known as Fort Bowie, and garrisoned by one hundred rank and file of the Fifth Infantry, California Volunteers, and thirteen rank and file of Company A, First Cavalry, California Volunteers; this post commands the water in the pass. Around this water the Indians have been in the habit of lying in ambush, and shooting the troops and travellers as they came to drink. In this way they killed three of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre’s command, and in attempting to keep Captain Robert’s company, First Infantry, California Volunteers, away from the spring, a fight ensued, in which Captain Roberts had two men killed and two wounded. Captain Roberts reports that the Indians lost ten killed. In this affair, the men of Captain Roberts are reported as behaving with great gallantry.

“Two miles beyond Apache Pass, I found the remains of nine white men, who had been mur-

dered by the Indians. They were a party travelling from the Pinos Alto Mines to California; one of them had been burned at the stake. We saw the charred bones, and the burnt ends of the rope by which he had been tied. The remains of seven of these men were buried on the spot. From the Rio de Sauz to Ojo de la Vaca there was a great dearth of water."

The California Column had many fights and skirmishes with the hostile Indians in their march through Arizona and New Mexico, a few of which I note.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE LABORS OF THE CALIFORNIA COLUMN  
(Continued).

ATTACK UPON VILLAGE OF PINOS ALTOS—ARIZONA GUARDS—MANGUS COLORADO—WHIPPING OF—UNION OF MANGUS COLORADO AND COCHISE—MASSACRE OF MINERS BY APACHES—BATTLE OF APACHE PASS—DESCRIPTION BY CAPTAIN CREMONY—ESCAPE OF JOHN TEAL—HIS SHOOTING OF MANGUS COLORADO—INTRODUCTION OF ARTILLERY TO THE INDIANS—RECOVERY OF MANGUS COLORADO.

On the morning of September 27th, 1861, a force of over two hundred warriors attacked the mining village of Pinos Altos, but, fortunately for the people, Captain Martin had arrived the night before with a detachment of Arizona Guards, a volunteer organization, and after several hours hard fighting, the Indians were driven off with considerable loss. Soon after one hundred and fifty warriors attacked a large wagon train, one day out from Pinos Altos, and besieged it for fourteen hours. The train escaped destruction by the timely arrival of the Arizona Guards, who escorted it to the Mimbres River.

The situation of the settlers in New Mexico was about as bad as it was in Arizona, but relief was at hand. The Colorado Volunteers marched down from the north, turned back the Texans, and joined Canby in driving them from the Rio Grande. At the same time General Carleton with his Column of Californians, was advancing

by way of Fort Yuma, driving all hostiles before him, and reopening the old Butterfield route of communication to the coast.

Mangus Colorado, although in fact his band was domiciled in New Mexico, and not in Arizona, yet on account of the close relations existing between him and Cochise, the chief of the Chiricahuas, his history becomes, in a way, identified with that of the Indian fights in Arizona. Mangus never forgave the whipping he received at the hands of the miners of the Santa Rita Mines, and was, thereafter, the implacable foe of the whites. The details of this whipping are given by Cremony as follows:

"My readers will bear in mind the place described as Santa Rita del Cobre, where the Boundary Commission remained for several months, where Inez Gonzales and the two Mexican boys were rescued from captivity, where Delgadito made his attack upon Mr. Hay, and where he got handsomely seamed by Wells. The gold mines worked by Mr. Hay at that period, twelve years prior, had proved to be very rich, and attracted many bold adventurers, among whom were a number of celebrated Indian fighters, who had passed years upon our frontiers, and were universally dreaded by all the wild Indian tribes of Arizona and New Mexico. In a short time the mining population at that point amounted to something like two hundred, of whom one hundred and fifty were well armed, fearless and experienced men. The presence of such a party was far from pleasing to Mangus Colorado and his band, as they claimed exclusive proprietorship to that whole

region, which was their main fastness. They also regarded the miners as the legitimate successors of the Boundary Commission, with whom they had parted in deadly enmity after a short season of simulated friendship. Mangus made many skillful efforts to dislodge the miners, and divert their attention from the Copper Mines, but without effect. He privately visited some of the more prominent among them, and professing the most disinterested friendship, offered to show them where gold was far more abundant and could be obtained with less labor, accompanying his promises with something like the following style of inducement:

“You good man. You stay here long time and never hurt Apache. You want the “yellow iron;” I know where plenty is. Suppose you go with me, I show you; but tell no one else. Mangus your friend, he want to do you good. You like “yellow iron”—good! Me no want “yellow iron.” Him no good for me—can no eat, can no drink, can no keepee out cold. Come, I show you.”

“For a while each person so approached kept this offer to himself, but after a time they began to compare notes, and found that Mangus had made a like promise to each, under the ban of secrecy and the pretense of exclusive personal friendship. Those who at first believed the old rascal, at once comprehended that it was a trap set to separate and sacrifice the bolder and leading men by gaining their confidence and killing them in detail, while their fates would remain unknown to those left behind. The next time, after this *éclaircissement*, that Mangus visited

that camp, he was tied to a tree and administered a dose of 'strap oil,' well applied by lusty arms. His vengeance was more keenly aroused by this deserved treatment, and from that time forth every sort of annoyance was put into operation against the miners. They were shot at from the cover of trees and rocks, their cattle and horses were driven off, their supply trains robbed and destroyed, and themselves reduced to want. But Mangus desired their utter extirpation. He wanted their blood; he was anxious for their annihilation, and feeling himself unable to cope with them single handed, he dispatched emissaries to Cheis (Cochise), the most famed warrior of the Chiricahua tribe, to come and help him oust the Americans."

Cochise agreed to assist him, provided Mangus would help him in dislodging the Americans from the Apache Pass and Fort Bowie. At Apache Pass was fought a great battle with their united forces.

While they were occupying Apache Pass awaiting the arrival of the Americans, they descried a small band of Americans approaching from the east, across the wide plains intervening between that place and the Cienega, and determined to cut it off. In the newcomers they recognized a small but well armed party of hardy and experienced miners from the Santa Rita del Cobre, and knew that such men were always on their guard and prepared to defend their lives with the greatest courage and determination. They knew also that they would be on the *qui vive* after having entered the pass and that any attack upon them would probably result in the

loss of several of their warriors. Two miles east of the pass, in the clear and unobstructed plain, was a gully, formed by the washing of rains through a porous and yielding soil. It was six or eight yards wide, and could not be seen from horseback until the rider was within fifty yards of the spot. A large body of the Apaches hid themselves in this gully, believing that the travelers would be somewhat off their guard while crossing the open plain, apparently without a place of concealment, and there they awaited the approach of their victims. The ambuscade was skillfully laid and eminently successful. The miners rode forward with their rifles resting in the slings across their saddle bows, their pistols in scabbards, and their whole attention absorbed on the pass they were about to enter. When within forty yards of the gully a simultaneous fire was opened upon them by the concealed Indians which killed one-half of their number outright and sent the remainder wounded and panic stricken to seek safety in flight. They were pursued and massacred to a man. Their bodies were discovered by the Americans after the battle of Apache Pass, and it was an instructive lesson in Apache character, showing the shrewd calculations made by these people when determined to effect a desired result. It was subsequently learned that the victims had with them a considerable sum in gold dust, nearly fifty thousand dollars worth, all of which fell into the hands of their slayers, who had become well acquainted with its value.

The battle of Apache Pass and the events leading up to it are fully described in Cremony's

“Life Among the Apaches,” from which I make the following extract:

“In consequence of the report made by Lieut.-Col. E. A. Rigg, Gen. Carleton again ordered me in the advance with Capt. Thomas Roberts, Co. E, First California Infantry. Arriving at the San Pedro River, it became necessary to learn whether Dragoon Springs, some twenty-eight miles further on, could supply both companies at a time with water, or whether we would be obliged to break into detachments. Capt. Roberts took the advance with his infantry and three wagons, having also selected seven of my best mounted men to serve as scouts and couriers. I remained behind with fifteen of my cavalry and ten of Roberts’ company, including the detachment left as a garrison at the river, where a tolerable adobe building, erected by the Overland Stage Company, afforded decent shelter and a defensible position.

“The night after Roberts left was one of the most stormy I ever witnessed. The rain descended in floods. Earth and sky appeared thunder riven; blazing lightning leaped from the inky clouds, and absorbed the Cimmerian darkness with their blinding flashes. The San Pedro roared and foamed and the animals quailed and bent before the storm, and all nature seemed convulsed. I was in charge of sixteen wagons with their mules and precious freight, and my chief attention was elicited to secure their safety. Experience had taught me that the Apaches would select exactly such a time to make a bold attempt, and I doubled my sentries. Throwing myself on the earthen floor, in front of a decent fire,

without removing my side arms or any portion of my clothing, I endeavored to obtain some repose. About two o'clock A. M., I was aroused by the sergeant of the guard, who informed me that strange lights were visible coming down the hills on the west, north and south sides. A hasty survey showed me four lights, as of large burning brands, on three different sides of the compass, and apparently approaching the station. I felt convinced from this open demonstration that no attack was meditated, for in that case the greatest secrecy and caution would have been observed by the Apaches. Nevertheless, the garrison was summoned and disposed to the best advantage. All fires were extinguished and all lights shrouded from observation. In the course of a few minutes seven or eight more lights made their appearance, and seemed to be carried by persons walking at a rapid pace. Some of them approached within, what I considered, two hundred yards of the station, and at one time I felt greatly inclined to try the effect of a chance shot from my rifle, but gave up the idea from the conviction that no Apache would carry a torch within that distance, and maintain an erect position, while my fire might expose the persons of my men, and draw a more effective return. After an hour and a half of anxious watch, the lights gradually united and faded away toward the east.

“It was not until more than a year had elapsed that I learned the meaning of this occurrence. A celebrated leading man of the Mescalero Apaches, named Gian-nah-tah, or ‘Always Ready,’ gave the desired information, which pre-

cisely tallied with succeeding events. He said that, as the Apaches are a dispersed and perpetually wandering race, it is impossible for one detachment to know where others might be at any time, but that when a great body of them was needed for any joint undertaking, they made smoke signals of a certain character by day and signals of fire by night. That, on the occasion of which I write, the nature of the country prohibited fire signals from being seen except from very short distances, and runners were hurried through the districts, bearing torches, which would indicate that the aid of all within sight was required. In fine, it was the 'Speed, Malise, Speed' of the Apaches. This explanation will account for what followed.

"Between three and four o'clock A. M., just after the lights had disappeared, the sound of horses advancing at a fast gallop was heard approaching the station. The sentinel challenged and was immediately answered with the round Saxon response, 'Friends.' It proved to be two of my own company who had been sent back by Capt. Roberts with the information that there was an abundance of water at Dragoon Springs, and instructions to join him with the train without delay. The poor fellows had ridden twenty-eight miles through that terrible storm, and in the heart of a country swarming with hostile and ever vigilant savages. Two days subsequently they had splendid opportunity to test their gallantry and most nobly did they respond to the appeal. In obedience to orders, we set forward before daylight to join Captain Roberts, and reached Dragoon Springs without incident

at 3 o'clock P. M. A long and fatiguing march of sixty miles had to be made before reaching Apache Pass, where the next water was to be had, and as we were in doubt as to the country, it was again agreed that I should remain at Dragoon Springs until next morning, while Capt. Roberts was to push ahead with his infantry and seven of my company, leaving the train under my charge. At half past five o'clock P. M. he set out, and the strictest vigilance was maintained in camp the whole night. By daylight the next morning we were again in the saddle, and the train duly straightened out for the long and weary march. Had we not been encumbered with wagons, my cavalry could have made the distance easily in seven hours; but we were compelled to keep pace with those indispensable transports of food, ammunition, clothing and medicine. A little before dark, we arrived at Ewell's Station, fifteen miles west of the pass, and I determined to park the train, as the mules had almost given out and were quite unable to accomplish the remainder of the march without some rest. Just as I had come to this conclusion, we perceived several riders coming toward us with all speed, and they soon proved to be the detachment of my company which had been detailed to act with Capt. Roberts. Two of them were mounted behind two others, and all had evidently ridden hard. Sergeant Mitchell approached, and saluting, said: 'Capt. Roberts has been attacked in Apache Pass by a very large body of Indians. We fought them for six hours, and finally compelled them to run. Capt. Roberts then directed us to come back through the

pass, and report to you with orders to park the train and take every precaution for its safety. He will join you to-night. On leaving the pass, we were pursued by over fifty well armed and mounted Apaches, and we lost three horses, killed under us, and that one—pointing to a splendid gray—is mortally wounded. Sergeant Maynard, now present, has his right arm fractured at the elbow with a rifle ball, and John Teal we believe to be killed, as we saw him cut off by a band of fifteen or twenty savages, while we were unable to render him any assistance.'

"The wagons were ordered to be parked, every man was supplied with ammunition and posted to the best advantage; proper attention was paid to my wounded sergeant, and the camp arranged in such a manner as to insure a warm reception to a large body of savages. We remained on the *qui vive* until one o'clock A. M., when to my extreme surprise and sincere gratification, we were joined by John Teal, who was supposed to have been killed. He brought with him his saddle, blanket, sabre and pistols, having lost his horse and spurs. His narrative is so full of interest, and so well illustrates a phase of Apache character, that it is worth recording:

" 'Soon after we left the pass,' said he, 'we opened upon a sort of hollow plain or vale, about a mile wide, across which we dashed with speed. I was about two hundred yards in the rear, and presently a body of about fifteen Indians got between me and my companions. I turned my horse's head southward and coursed along the plain, lengthwise, in the hope of outrunning them, but my horse had been too sorely tested,

and could not get away. They came up and commenced firing, one ball passing through the body of my horse, just forward of his hind quarters. It was then about dark, and I immediately dismounted, determined to fight it out to the bitter end. My horse fell, and as I approached him he began to lick my hands. I then swore to kill at least one Apache. Lying down behind the body of my dying horse, I opened fire upon them with my carbine, which, being a breech-loader, enabled me to keep up a lively fusilade. This repeated fire seemed to confuse the savages, and instead of advancing with a rush, they commenced to circle around me, firing occasionally in my direction. They knew that I also had a six-shooter and a sabre, and seemed unwilling to try close quarters. In this way the fight continued for over an hour, when I got a good chance at a prominent Indian and slipped a carbine ball into his heart. He must have been a man of some note, because soon after that they seemed to get away from me, and I could hear their voices, growing fainter in the distance. I thought this a good time to make tracks, and divesting myself of my spurs, I took the saddle, bridle and blanket from my dead horse and started for camp. I have walked eight miles since then.'

"It is needless to add how gratified I was to receive this brave and loyal soldier again, and find him free from wound or scar. We subsequently learned that the man he shot was no less an individual than the celebrated Mangus Colorado, but, I regret to add, the rascal survived his wound to cause us more trouble."

“About an hour after Teal had come in, I was joined by Capt. Roberts with thirty men, and then got a full description of the fight. I omitted to mention that two twelve-pounder mountain howitzers were with our little force, and to these guns the victory is probably attributable. It seems that about one hundred and thirty or forty miners had located themselves at the Pino Alto gold mines, or the same mines mentioned in a former portion of this work, as the scene where Mr. Hay and his family were attacked and their cattle stolen by the Apaches, and also where Delgadito got badly scored by Wells. This was the great stronghold of Mangus and his band, and finding himself unable to dislodge the unwelcome intruders without help, he had dispatched messengers to Cheis, the principal warrior of the Chiricahua Apaches, to assist him in expelling the miners. Cheis was too much occupied by the advancing column of American troops to give heed to his call, and failed to attend. Such want of faith was inexplicable to Mangus, who knew nothing of our approach, and, at the head of two hundred warriors, he visited Cheis to inquire the reason for his apparent defection from the Apache cause. In reply Cheis took Mangus to the top of the Chiricahua and showed him the dust made by our advance guard, and told him that it was his first duty to defend himself, and that if Mangus would join in the affair, they could whip the ‘white eyes’ and make themselves masters of the spoil. This arrangement was immediately agreed to by Mangus, and their united forces, amounting to nearly seven hundred warriors, so disposed as to take Roberts by surprise

and insure his defeat. But 'the best laid plans of man and mice gang aft aglee' and these finely fixed schemes were doomed to be terribly overthrown.

"Roberts, entirely unsuspecting any attack, entered the pass with the ordinary precautions. He had penetrated two-thirds of the way, when from both sides of that battlemented gorge a fearful rain of fire and lead was poured upon his troops within a range of from thirty to eighty yards. On either hand the rocks afforded natural and almost unassailable defenses. Every tree concealed an armed warrior, and each warrior boasted his rifle, six-shooter and knife. A better armed host could scarcely be imagined. From behind every species of shelter came the angry and hissing missiles, and not a soul to be seen. Quickly, vigorously, and bravely did his men respond, but to what effect? They were expending ammunition to no purpose; their foes were invisible; there was no way to escalade those impregnable natural fortresses; the howitzers were useless, and the men doubtful how to attack the foe. In such strait, Roberts determined to fall back, reform and renew the contest. The orders were given and obeyed with perfect discipline. Reaching the entrance to the pass, the troops were reorganized, skirmishers were thrown out over the hills so as to command the road; the howitzers were loaded, and belched forth their shells wherever found necessary. In this manner the troops again marched forward. Water was indispensable for the continuance of life. Unless they could reach the springs, they must perish. A march of forty miles under an Arizona sun,

and over wide alkaline plains, with their blinding dust and thirst-provoking effects, had already been effected, and it would be impossible to march back again without serious loss of life, and untold suffering, without taking into account the seeming disgrace of being defeated by seven times their force of Apaches. What would it avail those brave men to know that the Indians were as well armed as they; that they possessed all the advantages; that they outnumbered them seven to one, when the outside and carping world would be so ready to taunt them with defeat, and adduce so many specious reasons why they should have annihilated the savages?

“Forward, steadily forward, under a continuous and galling fire did those gallant companies advance until they reached the old station-house in the pass, about six hundred yards from the springs. The house was built of stone, and afforded ample shelter; but still they had no water, and eighteen hours, with a march of forty miles, including six hours of sharp fighting, had been passed without a drop. Men and officers were faint, worn out with fatigue, want of sleep, and intense privation and excitement; still Roberts urged them on and led the way. His person was always the most exposed; his voice ever cheering and encouraging. Immediately commanding the springs are two hills, both high and difficult of ascent. One is to the east, and the other overlooks them from the south. On these heights the Apaches had built rude but efficient breast-works by piling the rocks one upon another so as to form crenelle holes between the interstices. From these fortifications they kept up a rapid

and scathing fire, which could not be returned with effect by musketry from three to four hundred feet below. The howitzers were got into position, but one of them was so badly managed that the gunners were brought immediately under the fire from the hills without being able to make even a decent response. In a few moments it was overturned by some unaccountable piece of stupidity, and the artillerists driven off by the sharp fire of the savages. At this juncture, Sergeant Mitchell with his six associates of my company made a rush to bring off the howitzer and place it in a better position. Upon reaching the gun, they determined not to turn it downhill, but up, so as to keep their fronts to the fire. While performing this gallant act, they were assailed with a storm of balls, but escaped untouched; after having righted the gun, they brought it away, and placed it in a position best calculated to perform effective service. So soon as this feat had been happily accomplished, the exact range was obtained, and shell after shell hurled upon the hills, bursting just when they should. The Apaches, wholly unused to such formidable engines, precipitately abandoned their rock works and fled in all directions. It was nearly night. To remain under those death-dealing heights during the night when campfires would afford the enemy the best kind of advantage, was not true policy, and Capt. Roberts ordered each man to take a drink from the precious and hardly earned springs, and fill his canteen, after which the troops retired within the shelter afforded by the stone station-house, the proper guards and pickets being posted.

"In this fight Roberts had two men killed and three wounded, and I afterwards learned from a prominent Apache who was present in the engagement, that sixty-three warriors were killed outright by the shells, while only three perished from musketry fire. He added: 'We would have done well enough if you had not fired wagons at us.' The howitzers, being on wheels, were deemed a species of wagon by the Apaches, wholly inexperienced in that sort of warfare.

"Captain Roberts suffered his men to recruit their wasted energies with supper, and then, taking one-half his company, the remainder being left under command of Lieut. Thompson, marched back to Ewell's Station, fifteen miles, to assure the safety of the train under my command, and escort it through the pass. As before stated, he reached my camp a little after two o'clock A. M., where the men rested until five, when the march toward the pass was resumed. Several alarms were given before his arrival, and we heard the Apaches careering around us, but they made no attack, and kept out of sight. At five o'clock, A. M., the train was straightened out with half my effective cavalry force three hundred yards in the advance and the other half about as far in the rear, while the wagons were flanked on either side by the infantry. In this order we entered that most formidable of gorges, when the bugles blew a halt. A considerable body of the infantry was then thrown out on either side as skirmishers, with a small reserve as the rallying point, while the cavalry were ordered to guard the train, and make occasional dashes into the side canyons. 'Up hill and

down dale' went the skirmishers, plunging into dark and forbidding defiles, and climbing steep, rocky, and difficult acclivities, while the cavalry made frequent sorties from the main body to the distance of several hundred yards. Being without a subaltern, Gen. Carleton had assigned Lieut. Muller, of the First Cavalry California Volunteers, to service with my command. This officer soon after gave sufficient proof of his gallantry and zeal, for which I now gratefully return thanks.

"In this manner we progressed through that great stronghold of the Apaches and dangerous defile, until we joined the detachment under Lieut. Thompson, at the stone station-house, where we quartered for the remainder of that day. Let it be borne in mind that Capt. Roberts' company of California Infantry had marched forty miles without food or water, had fought for six hours with desperation against six times their numbers of splendidly armed Apaches, ensconced behind their own natural ramparts, and with every possible advantage in their favor; had driven that force before them; occupied their defiles; taken their strongholds, and after only one draught of water, and a hasty meal, had made another march of thirty miles, almost absolutely without rest. I doubt much if any record exists to show where infantry had made a march of seventy miles, fought one terrible battle of six hours' duration, and achieved a decided victory under such circumstances.

"The shrill fife, the rattling drum and the mellow bugles sounded the reveille before dawn, of the next day. The campfires were soon

throwing up their lively jets of flame and smoke, while the grateful odors of frying bacon and browning flapjacks saluted the appreciative nostrils of the hungry troops. But we had no water, and without water we could have no coffee, that most coveted of all rations. There was reason to believe that the Apaches intended to put our metal to another trial. They had again occupied the heights above the springs, and also the water courses, which were thickly sheltered by trees and willow underbrush. Roberts again made preparations to dislodge the savages, and ordered his howitzers into the most favorable positions. Just then I saluted him, and said, 'Captain, you have done your share of this fight; I now respectfully ask for my chance. If you will throw your shells on the heights above the springs, I will charge the latter with my men, and clean out the Apaches in a very few moments. I certainly think this concession due me.'

"Roberts reflected for a few moments, and replied—'I am truly sorry that your wish cannot be granted. Yours is the only cavalry I have, and their safety is indispensable to ours. We are going to the San Simon river, where I am ordered to establish a depot and await the arrival of other troops with supplies, and you will have enough to do in your proper turn. I cannot, under the circumstances, grant your request.'

"To this I replied: 'Your objections appear cogent; but I cannot perceive why all these things cannot be accomplished and still permit my men, who are burning with anxiety, to charge those

springs and disperse that wretched horde of savages. They are already cowed, and will immediately flee before a vigorous assault.'

"Capt. Roberts replied: 'You have had my answer, Captain, and it should be enough. I do not intend to jeopardize my own men, but will shell the heights and springs, and effect a bloodless victory, in so far as we are concerned.'

"After this rebuff, I could make no further personal appeal, but instructed Lieut. Muller to beseech Capt. Roberts, and, if possible, induce him to change his mind. Muller argued for half an hour, until Roberts told him either to obey or be placed under arrest. This ended the colloquy. The howitzers then opened fire—the shells burst splendidly, large numbers of Apaches were observed to decamp from the heights in the most hurried manner; the springs also underwent a similar cleaning, and in less than twenty minutes the troops were permitted to advance and fill their canteens, while my cavalry, without waiting further orders, made a rush after the retreating savages until the rapid rise and terribly broken nature of the ground checked their career. The hillsides were covered with fleeing Apaches, who seemed imbued with supernatural powers of locomotion. Upwards they sped with the celerity of Alpine goats, until they disappeared behind the crests of tall mountains and rugged hills. In peace and quiet, we partook of the precious fountain. Our horses and mules, which had not tasted water for forty-eight hours, and were nearly famished from so dusty a road and so long a journey under the hottest of suns, drank as if

they never would be satisfied. An hour later we moved through the pass, entered upon the wide plain which separates it from the San Simon river, and reached our camp on that creek, without further trouble, about four o'clock P. M."

The use of artillery in this battle was a surprise to the Indians. Their position was well chosen and impregnable as against small arms, and they certainly would have annihilated the Americans had it not been for the howitzers. After this fight Mangus Colorado returned with the remnants of his force to the Pino Alto country, carrying with him the bullet in his body which had been fired by Sergeant Teal. This chance shot caused the Apaches to abandon their pursuit, diverting their attention from Teal to the succor of Mangus. He was conveyed to Janos, in Chihuahua, where he received the care and attention of a Mexican physician who happened to be at that place at the time. It was a case of surgery under difficult conditions for the doctor was told that if the patient survived, he would be safe, but if the patient died, the doctor and all the inhabitants of the village would be sent to join Mangus in the spirit land. The ball was extracted, Mangus recovered, and the doctor and the village saved.

## CHAPTER VII.

## INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

FEELING TOWARDS INDIANS—KILLING OF MANGUS COLORADO—PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MANGUS COLORADO—KILLING OF MR. WHITE AND OTHERS—OUTRAGES ON THE INDIANS—ELECTION OF COCHISE AS CHIEF—HIS VOW—RAIDS BY COCHISE—MAJOR McCLEVE'S EXPEDITION—TREATY WITH INDIANS BY COMMISSIONER JOHN T. USHER—ATTACK ON CHARLES T. HAYDEN'S TRAIN—CAPTAIN T. T. TIDBALL'S CAMPAIGN—SAMUEL BUTTERWORTH'S EXPERIENCE WITH INDIANS.

The feeling prevailed at this time among the people of Arizona that the only way to effect a permanent peace, was by the slaughter of every Indian capable of bearing arms. Lieutenant Mowry declared that they were as venomous as rattlesnakes and should be treated accordingly. General Carleton issued orders that no buck should be taken prisoner but that the women and children should be spared.

On the 14th of January, 1863, according to the Fish manuscript, Captain Shirland was detached, with twenty men of his company, with orders to proceed at once in advance of the main body, and find Mangus Colorado, known to be in the neighborhood of Pinos Altos. Captain Shirland was given discretionary orders, either to capture the chief in fair fight, or to get possession of his body by strategy. Mangus Colorado was invited to visit Fort McLane for the

purpose of making a treaty and receiving presents. Captain Shirland returned to the fort on the 17th, accompanied by Mangus Colorado and four of his chiefs. The statement which follows is condensed from the Fish manuscript, the facts of which Mr. Fish states he received from C. A. Cooley, an old scout, and Captain Henry Warren, who was a member of the California Volunteers, both of whom were present at Fort McLane at the time the following circumstances occurred.

Mangus came in all the pomp of a victorious chief, gaudily painted in vermillion and ochre, and decorated with feathers and brass ornaments. After a long talk with Mangus by the officers assembled, he was told that the remainder of his days would be spent as a prisoner in the hands of the Government authorities; that his family would be permitted to join him and they would be well treated. He was also told that upon making any attempt to escape, his life would be immediately forfeited. During the night the sentry purposely unfastened the prison door, and about one o'clock in the morning of the 18th, placed his bayonet in the fire, got it red hot, and then stuck it up against the bare backs of the prisoners, (Mangus Colorado and the chiefs with him). At this, the victims jumped, and availed themselves of the means of escape offered by the door being open, and they were deliberately shot down by the soldiers, who had been stationed outside for that purpose. The officers reported that the Indians, after making several attempts to escape, were shot down. Mangus Colorado's head was





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severed from his body by a surgeon, the brain was taken out and weighed, and it was found that the head measured larger than that of Daniel Webster, and the brain was of corresponding weight. The skull was sent to Washington and is now on exhibit in the Smithsonian Museum. This was the story of Captain Warren, who also stated that the killing of Mangus Colorado was regarded as absolutely necessary in order to suppress the savages.

Mr. D. E. Conner, the last surviving member of the Walker Party, to which reference will be made as this history progresses, gives the following account of the capture of Mangus. Mr. Conner was the historian of the Walker Party, and wrote at the time a full account of their adventures, which he has preserved to the present day. According to Mr. Conner, the Walker Party was encamped on a grassy plain at old Fort McLane, where they were herding and resting their stock. About fifteen miles from their camp in a dividing mountain range was located the temporary headquarters of some Mexican renegades, supposed to be allies of the Apaches. A Mexican came to their camp, professing to be an escaped prisoner of the savages and informed them that Mangus Colorado was north of these headquarters, which these Mexicans called "Pinos Altos," with several hundred warriors. He disappeared in the night as mysteriously as he came. Upon this information the Walker Party decided to remain at Fort McLane, opposite to Pinos Altos, until the whereabouts of Mangus Colorado could be ascertained. His

warriors had followed the party, laying ambuscades and making attacks upon them at water holes all the winter down to their arrival at Fort McLane in February, 1863. From this camp Captain Walker decided to send nearly half of his command to the Pinos Altos under the lead of John W. Swilling, to capture Mangus if possible. Mangus used signal smokes to telegraph the movements of the party, to defeat which Swilling and his command decided to start before daylight. The day before they started the advance guard of General West of the California Column, about thirty soldiers under command of Captain Shirland, arrived in the Walker camp. Captain Walker invited them to join in the search for Mangus. The invitation was accepted, and the next morning saw a company of citizens and soldiers hurrying up the mountain to Pinos Altos. When they arrived the soldiers concealed themselves in an old hackel and behind the rocks and chaparral. A few moments later the Walker Party marched boldly across the open ground to the summit, where John W. Swilling, who was in command "uttered a war-whoop loud enough to make an Apache ashamed of himself," hearing which, Mangus, who was a short distance away, slowly advanced in the direction of Swilling's command, followed by about a dozen of his bodyguard. Swilling went out alone and met them about a hundred and fifty paces from the rest of his command where they all halted for a moment until the citizen party levelled their rifles upon them. Jack Swilling laid his hand upon Mangus' shoulder, and in broken Spanish, which both could understand,

convinced him that resistance was in vain. Under the menace of levelled guns they slowly advanced to the Walker party. Swilling told Mangus that his bodyguard was not wanted, and Mangus halted them and in Spanish told them: "Tell my people to look for me when they see me." Knowing that Mangus had a large force of warriors in this vicinity, they hurried away with the prisoner. Passing back over the summit of the ridge, the soldiers came out of their concealment to the evident disgust of Mangus, who began to see into the trick to capture him. There was not a shot fired. The party arrived with their prisoner in safety at Fort McLane about three o'clock P. M., to find that General West had arrived with two companies of California Volunteers en route for the war in the States. He ordered that Mangus be brought before him, and what transpired there was not made known to Mr. Conner, but Mangus, in charge of two soldiers, stood about the camp the rest of the day, a head and shoulders above all the palefaces present, not less than six and a half feet tall and large in proportion. He had a heavy suit of long, black hair, a heavy oval face and cruel bloodshot eyes. Stolid and indifferent, he refused to notice or to speak to anyone. He wore a large sombrero of Mexican manufacture, an ordinary check shirt, and blue overalls, cut off at the knees. His only redeeming feature was his delicate aquiline nose. Night came on and the two soldiers brought Mangus to the one fire used by the Walker Party before the arrival of the soldiers, near which the old savage lay, wrapped in a blanket. It was a cold February

night. Mr. Conner says: "Our beat ran from the fire, about one hundred and fifty yards into the outer darkness. I was the citizen sentinel until midnight. About nine o'clock P. M., I discovered the soldiers were annoying the old savage while I was out in the dark, and ceased as I returned to the fire, when they appeared to be sleepy. Thenceforward I would rapidly reach the outer end of my beat, turn back slowly, and observe the soldiers, heating their bayonets in the fire and touching them to the old savage's feet and legs. They kept up this annoyance until midnight, and upon my last return to the fire-light Mangus raised upon his elbow angrily protesting that he was no child to be played with, whereupon each soldier fired upon him, once with muskets, and twice apiece with sixshooters, after which George Lount took my place on guard, and I went into my blankets. The following morning the body of Mangus occupied exactly the same position it did during the night. I took his trinkets from under his huge head and gave them to a Lieutenant during the day. A little soldier calling himself John T. Wright, scalped Mangus with an Arkansas toothpick, borrowed from Bill Lallier, the soldiers' cook, for the purpose. A few nights later the army surgeon, Dr. Sturgeon, exhumed the body, and obtained the huge skull to send East. Now you have the real facts to which I can subscribe under oath."

Commenting upon the above Mr. Conner says: "But what about General West's report to the War Department, a copy of which I have in my scrapbook, taken from the Washington Republican and the Cincinnati Enquirer, which says that

‘Mangus was taken redhanded in a fight with the troops under Capt. Shirland of the California Volunteers, and delivered to him half an hour after the capture?’ That he placed a guard over the savage, a sergeant and nine men, and yet Mangus rushed his guard at midnight and was shot down, etc. I don’t believe General West meant to prevaricate, but took the word of those under him, who have always disgraced the history of the West, worse than the fraudulent legends of Old Mexico.

“Let me refer to other facts in this case, if it does make you blush: Taken from these same newspapers and in my scrapbook, Governor Arny takes General West to task for the killing of Mangus, saying that he was present at the killing of the old savage and writes from personal knowledge; that the military officers decided that Mangus must die, and to get an excuse, roused the old savage up by thrusting a red hot iron bar through a crack of the adobe wall into the room where Mangus was confined at Fort *Buchanan*, and killed him. Fort Buchanan, where the Governor locates the scene at which he was present, is something near three hundred miles from Fort McLane where Mangus was killed, yet the Governor and the General had a long controversy for the benefit of history as published and preserved in my scrapbook.

“I am going to suggest that General West’s false report to the War Department will be matured by time into good history, like thousands of Arizona circumstances which it will be next to impossible to detect. I am in the case like Governor Arny, only I saw the killing of

Mangus nearly three hundred miles from where the Governor personally saw the same killing."

So died the greatest chief the Apache nation had produced. His personal appearance is thus described: "He was six feet high, had a very large head with a broad forehead, a large aquiline nose, a most capacious mouth, a broad heavy chin, and a powerful and well made frame. His eyes were rather small but exceedingly brilliant, and flashed when under any excitement, although his demeanor was as imperturbable as brass." His relation by marriage to Cochise and the Navajos, gave him large influence with those tribes. He was noted for far-sightedness and diplomacy, which made him influential in council, and a recognized leader in battle. For fifty years his influence was felt over nearly all of Arizona, the northern part of Sonora, and the western portion of New Mexico. He made his raids at will, whenever and wherever he wished, and no enemy was able to cope with him. He was at all times the implacable foe of both the Mexicans and the Americans. Unlike most of the Apaches, he was deceitful and treacherous; his word was worthless; no treaty bound him, and he died as he had lived, a human tiger. He was about seventy years old when his career was treacherously ended.

Major Griner, after an investigation made in 1865 as to the cause of the Indian differences made this statement:

"In my experience I have never known a serious difficulty in the Territory between the Indians and citizens, which did not originate mainly with the latter. One of the most exciting

difficulties in the Territory arose from the capture of Mrs. White, a very beautiful woman, and her little daughter, by the Jicarilla Apaches. I was appointed to investigate it. I found that at Las Vegas the troops had, without any sufficient cause or provocation, fired upon the Indians, and they in revenge joined with some Utes and attacked the next train coming from the States, killing Mr. White and others, and capturing his wife and child; and also the stage, with ten passengers, was taken and all killed. A war was the consequence.

“Another instance on the part of Mangus Colorado, the chief of the Apaches: During my administration as acting superintendent of Indian affairs, I was present with General Sumner to make a treaty of peace. He was an Indian of remarkable intelligence and great character. I asked him the cause of the difficulties with the people of Chihuahua and Sonora, for at that time, under the treaty with Mexico, we were bound to protect its people from the attacks of the Indians residing in New Mexico. He said: ‘I will tell you. Sometime ago my people were invited to a feast; aguardiente or whiskey, was there; my people drank and became intoxicated, and were lying asleep, when a party of Mexicans came in and beat out their brains with clubs. At another time a trader was sent among us from Chihuahua. While innocently engaged in trading, often leading to words of anger, a cannon concealed behind the goods was fired upon my people, and quite a number were killed. Since that, Chihuahua has offered a reward for our scalps, \$150 each, and we have been hunted

down ever since;’ and, with great emphasis and in the most impressive manner, he added, ‘How can we make peace with such people?’

“I have also learned from the agent of the tribe, Dr. Steck, that sixty Indians of the same tribe were poisoned by strychnine.”

Major Griner undoubtedly refers to the poisoning of the Indians by Colonel Baylor, of the Confederate forces, which led to his withdrawal from the Territory, and which has been mentioned before in this work.

The death of Mangus Colorado seems to have concentrated upon the whites all the hatred in the Apache nature. Cochise was elected their chief, and it is asserted that before accepting the mantle of Mangus, he took the Indian oath that for every Apache murdered at Fort McLane, a hundred white men should die, an oath which was most religiously kept.

The cowardly killing of Mangus Colorado, together with his arrest by Lieutenant Bascom, transformed Cochise from the white man’s friend into the white man’s implacable enemy. For more than twenty years, and until near the close of his life, he spared no Americans, young or old, male or female; men, women and children were murdered indiscriminately, and all prisoners taken met a most cruel and vindictive death of inconceivable torture.

Following the death of Mangus Colorado, the Indians, under the lead of Cochise, renewed their activities, and the year 1863 opened with raids and murders. On January 29th the Indians attacked some hunting parties of the soldiers, near Pines Altos, killing one soldier and

wounding Sergeant Sitton. They were driven off with a loss of twenty killed and fifteen wounded. On the afternoon of March 22nd, the Gila Apaches made a descent upon the public herd, grazing near Fort West, New Mexico, and succeeded in running off sixty horses. At 8 P. M., Major McCleve started in pursuit, with a command consisting of Lieutenants French and Latimer, and about eighty men, all told. He followed the trail of the Indians some seventy miles west, then down the Gila five miles, then across the divide to the Rio Negro, moving up the stream and travelling most of the night some thirty miles more, when he succeeded in surprising them early in the morning. The fight lasted for twenty minutes and resulted in the complete rout of the Indians, the capture of many stolen horses and several Indian horses, the killing of twenty-five Indians, and the complete destruction of the rancheria, with its store of provisions. On his return, Major McCleve was attacked in a canyon, but the Indians were soon repulsed with a loss of three killed. In these two encounters the Indians lost twenty-eight killed and the troops one, Hall, who died the next day after the command returned.

On April 14th, 1863, the reports from Tucson stated that the Indians were hostile. They had driven away about forty head of cattle from San Xavier, and had also captured a train of twenty-eight mules, belonging to Mexican freighters who were hauling from Fort Yuma. Sub-Indian Agent Abraham Lyon was at Tucson at this time and arrangements were made so that he got a hundred stand of old arms, which he

delivered to the Pima Indians to aid in the defense against the Apaches.

Indian hostilities were increasing, if that were possible. On April 25th, there appeared before Fort Bowie, about two hundred Indians. A running fight occurred between them and Captain B. F. Harrover, who was sent out to meet them. It lasted about three hours. The Indians were driven about four miles; one man was wounded and three Indians were killed. About this time orders came to "Show no mercy to adult male Apaches under any circumstances."

On April 6th, 1863, a treaty was concluded at Washington between John T. Usher, Commissioner on the part of the United States and a few of the chiefs and headmen of a few of the tribes of Indians, including a small representation of Apaches. This treaty had no beneficial effect in Arizona, for, with the beginning of May, the Apaches were as active as ever. They attacked Captain Charles T. Hayden's train near the line of Chihuahua, but were driven off with the loss of eleven killed, including one of their chiefs. There was renewed activity in the fighting the Apaches. On May 8th, Colonel J. F. Chavez reported the capture of Gardo, who was reported killed in attempting to escape. On May 2nd, General West reported his campaign to the headquarters of the Gila. He thought the Indians were pretty well cleaned out, with the exception of a few about the Mimbres and the Copper Mines. On the day of General West's report, Captain T. T. Tidball, at Tucson, was ordered to make an attack on a rancheria of the Apaches in the Aravaipa Canyon, about

twenty miles from Old Fort Breckenridge. He was told on starting: "All grown males are fair game; the women and children capture and bring here." His company consisted of twenty-five picked men, ten citizens, thirty-two Mexicans and twenty Papagoes. Jesus Maria Elias accompanied him as guide. Captain Tidball marched five nights, hiding by day to avoid being seen. He thus managed to fall upon the Indians unawares, and killed over fifty, besides wounding many more. He took ten prisoners and captured sixty-six head of stock. He lost one man, a civilian by the name of Thomas C. McClellan, who accompanied the expedition. This was a heavy blow to the Apaches of that vicinity. Although the year opened with many fights with the Indians, little was done in that direction during the Summer.

J. Ross Browne, in his work "The Apache Country" contributes an interesting story of Apache attacks. He says:

"As an illustration of the hazards of life in Arizona, tending to show the causes which have hitherto retarded the development of the mines in that region, a brief narrative of Mr. Butterworth's adventure will not be uninteresting. The positions of honor and trust occupied by this gentleman as United States District Attorney of Mississippi, and more recently as Treasurer of the United States at New York, together with his recognized financial abilities, and his eminent services in the adjustment of the great Almaden difficulty, have rendered his name familiar to the public throughout the United States. Upon the completion of his business as

President of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines, he received, before his departure from the Pacific Coast, an urgent request from some prominent capitalists in New York to visit the silver regions of Arizona, and report upon their condition and prospects. At the same time he was appointed President of the Arizona Mining Company, and every facility was tendered him for the prosecution of his inquiries in the new Territory. A spirit of adventure and a desire to see something of a country which was beginning to attract so much attention, with a laudable ambition to aid in its development, induced Mr. Butterworth to accept these flattering propositions; and on or about the 1st of December, (probably 1863) he left San Francisco by steamer for Guaymas. His party consisted of Mr. Kustel, metallurgist, and Mr. Higgins and Mr. Janin, two young gentlemen of scientific attainments.

“Nothing of particular interest occurred between Guaymas and Santa Cruz. On their arrival there, Mr. Kustel and Mr. Higgins proceeded to the Patagonia Mines with instructions to cross over by the way of Santa Rita, and meet Mr. Butterworth and Mr. Janin at Tubac.

“On the same day of the massacre of Mills and Stevens (December 29th) about five or six hours later, Mr. Butterworth’s party, which consisted of Mr. Janin, five Mexicans, an American driver and himself, were proceeding along the road a little way beyond the deserted ranch of Santa Barbara, when a band of Apaches, numbering some twenty-five or thirty, made an attack upon them from the brushwood fringing the bed of the

Santa Cruz river. As soon as the Indians appeared they commenced yelling like devils, and firing their guns and bows and arrows, evidently with a view of producing confusion at the first shock of the attack. Mr. Butterworth called upon his men to stand by the wagons, and expressed his belief that they could easily whip the Apaches. The ambulance and baggage-wagons were driven up to a mesquite three a little to the right of the road, where the animals could be secured. Meantime the Indians had come out of their ambush and set fire to the grass, which was tall and dry. The flames swept down upon the wagons so rapidly that it was found necessary to abandon the shelter of the tree, and make for a rise of ground about two hundred yards distant, where the position would be advantageous for a fight. Just as they reached this point, the Indians, shouting and yelling, all around them, the grass was again fired to windward, and the flames swept down toward them with fearful rapidity. Mr. Butterworth stood by the ambulance, armed with a double-barrelled shot-gun, with which he kept the Indians at bay for some time. Young Janin had one of Henry's rifles, and fired five or six shots at them, with what effect it was impossible to tell. While these two were making vigorous battle, the five Mexicans were making tracks over the hills, so that when Butterworth undertook to muster his men, he was unable to see any of them. The last he saw of his American driver, who, up to this period, was a great Indian fighter, that valiant individual had unhitched one of the mules, and was riding full tilt after the Mexicans—doubtless

with a firm determination to bring them back, if he overtook them. But neither he nor they appeared on the battleground again. The Indians, perceiving their advantage, began to press in rather forcibly. Young Janin behaved with great coolness. Turning to Butterworth, who had reserved his fire for the last desperate struggle, he said, 'Colonel, I can't see them very well—lend me your specs!' But the Colonel saw no speculation in that, and merely observed—'No; you had better save yourself, Janin.' 'I won't desert you,' said Janin, 'but they's getting rather too many for us, Colonel, and I think we had both better leave.' By this time there were between twenty and thirty of the red devils yelling and shooting at rather close quarters. Under cover of the smoke, they retired a short distance from the wagons, where they became separated. Janin made his escape into a ravine, where he lay concealed for some time; and Butterworth took his stand behind a mesquite tree, about a couple of hundred yards from the wagons, where he resolved to make as good a fight as possible.

"The Indians set fire to the grass again, and the flames swept toward him with fearful rapidity, compelling him to climb the tree for security, and even then burning part of the leg off his pantaloons. Two bullet holes which we found in the tree indicated that his position was by no means a pleasant one. Upon further examination of the spot where the wagons stood, we found various fragments of the plunder scattered around, such as sardine boxes, broken candle boxes, cartridges, patent medicines, and a

bottle inscribed 'Philip Roach, San Francisco.' This was one of a number bearing a similiar brand, containing some brandy reputed to be fifty years old. Mr. Butterworth, I have been informed, said it went harder with him to see these brutal wretches drink up his choice brandy than all the rest of the disaster put together. Plunder was evidently their chief object, for as soon as they had gutted the wagons of their contents, they retired across the Santa Cruz River, where they held a grand carousal over their booty. They had succeeded in getting \$1700 in gold coin and other property, amounting in the aggregate to about \$3,000. It is gratifying to know that this band of Apaches has since met with summary vengeance at the hands of the California Volunteers. Most, if not all of them, have been killed, and \$700 of the money taken from their dead bodies. Had there been two resolute men with our unlucky friend, when he heard them carousing across the river, during the night, he could have had a more prompt and satisfactory settlement. These were the same Indians who had killed Mills and Stevens a few hours before. They had crossed over with the rifles of these unfortunate men from the Patagonia Canon by the San Antonio Pass; and, flushed with success, and seeing a small party approaching along the road, again lay in ambush, and made this new attack. It is supposed by some that there were Mexicans among them from Santa Cruz, and that they were in collusion with the escort; but of this I could find no proof, nor is it sustained by subsequent developments. The same band of Indians next day attacked a party

of Mexicans on the Tubutama road, and killed four of the number, putting the rest to flight.

“Butterworth was entirely unacquainted with the country, and in attempting to reach Santa Cruz lost his way. Janin and a small Yaqui boy, who had escaped during the fight, reached Santa Cruz without difficulty. Here a relief party was immediately gotten up by Senor Commodoran. Janin was apprehensive that his comrade might have been killed, but still had hopes of his safety, and sent a note by Commodoran announcing his own safe arrival.

“Not very far above the Calabasas Ranch we reached the spot where Mr. Butterworth had camped after two days and nights of exposure and extreme suffering from cold, and where he was first seen by Commodoran. The nights were intensely sharp. He had no blankets and deemed it imprudent to light a fire, until he found it impossible to bear with the cold any longer. What his sufferings were in this wild region, surrounded by lurking foes, without food, without blankets, and beyond the reach, as he supposed, of all human aid, no man who has not travelled in Arizona can conceive. Two days and nights of such suffering as would have caused most men to despair had left their marks upon him. His throat was wrapped with straw, and he was evidently in a very bad condition. Up to this time he could not have wandered much less than fifty miles up and down the valley of the Santa Cruz. On the approach of Commodoran, supposing him to be a Sonoranian marauder, he raised his gun and was about to kill him, when the frightened Mexican cried out, ‘No

tira! No tira! Yo Amigo! Amigo!' Still Butterworth kept his gun pointed at him. 'Vamos!' was all he could say in Spanish. Comodoran, with great sagacity, jerked up his horse's head so as to keep it between him and the muzzle of the gun, and slowly approaching, held out Janin's note, shouting, 'No tira! Yo Amigo! Patagonia! Patagonia!' The last was a lucky hit. The word 'Patagonia' was familiar and partially solved the mystery. Janin's note did the rest, and the most cordial greeting followed the inhospitable reception.

"The return of Mr. Butterworth to Santa Cruz, where he procured a new outfit, the recovery of his ambulance and wagon, meeting with his friends, Kustel and Higgins at Tubac, visit to the Cerro Colorado, and subsequent adventures on the road to Guaymas; safe arrival at San Francisco; return to New York; continuance in the presidency, with entire control as resident manager of the New Almaden Quicksilver Mines, as well as of the Arizona Silver Mines, at Cerro Colorado, would furnish in detail an interesting sequel to his adventure with the Apaches."

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE NAVAJOS.

NAVAJOS ATTACK FORT DEFIANCE—EXPEDITION AGAINST NAVAJOS BY GENERAL CANBY—NAVAJOS RIDE ROUGHSHOD OVER COUNTRY—GENERAL CARLETON'S REPORT ON CONDITIONS—NAVAJOS' COUNTRY—COLONEL "KIT" CARSON'S EXPEDITION AGAINST THEM—NOTIFIED TO SURRENDER BY GENERAL CARLETON—CANYON DE CHELLY—STRONGHOLD OF NAVAJOS—DESCRIPTION OF—CAMPAIGN IN—SURRENDER OF NAVAJOS AND PLACING THEM ON RESERVATION AT BOSQUE REDONDO—NUMBER OF NAVAJOS—CLASH WITH MESCALERO APACHES AT BOSQUE REDONDO—FAILURE OF CROPS AT BOSQUE REDONDO—MISERABLE CONDITIONS—GENERAL CARLETON'S MISTAKEN POLICY—GENERAL SHERMAN AND COLONEL TAPPAN, PEACE COMMISSIONERS, VISIT RESERVATION—ESTABLISHMENT OF RESERVATION IN NAVAJO COUNTRY AND NAVAJOS REMOVED TO IT—PROSPERITY OF NAVAJOS IN OWN COUNTRY—RESERVATION ENLARGED—CONDITIONS IN 1884—NAVAJOS SELF-SUPPORTING AND FRIENDLY TO WHITES.

In the first volume of this work, the expedition against the Navajos down to December 25th, 1858, when the last treaty was made with them, has been recited. There only remains now to give the history of the expeditions under the directions of General Canby and General Carleton by which the tribe was finally subdued.

In 1859, war again broke out, and in 1860, the Navajos attacked Fort Defiance. Finally General Canby made a long campaign against them, leading his troops in person. After General Canby's campaign against the Navajos, when the soldiers were employed to repel the Texas invasion, the Navajos, as well as the Apaches, rode roughshod over the country. This was in the winter of 1861 and the spring and summer of 1862. The Navajos and Apaches in 1862, when General Canby was relieved by General Carleton, were united in war against the Americans.

General Carleton, in his testimony in 1865 before the Committee on investigation into Indian affairs, says:

"The Indian difficulties in New Mexico, since the treaty with New Mexico, have obliged the United States to keep in that territory a force whose average strength has been at least three thousand men, employees and all reckoned in. This covers a period of eighteen years. A large proportion of these troops have been cavalry, the most expensive arm in the military service, especially in New Mexico, where forage is very expensive. The horses required as remounts for this cavalry have to be brought across the plains from the States at great risk and expense. Sometimes large numbers have been stampeded en route and have never been heard from since. Many die before they reach this country. Those which arrive here it takes at least a year to acclimate, and after this the loss of horses by death, by being broken down, and lost on scouts, and killed in action, and stolen by Indians, is enormous, compared with losses of cavalry

horses in any other country. The same holds true of mules, more numerous necessarily than cavalry horses, by reason of the extent of country over which supplies have to be hauled to sustain and clothe the troops."

In reference to the peonage system, the General says:

"The number of Indians, men, women and children, who have been captured or bought from the Utes, and who live in the families of the Territory, may be safely set down as at least three thousand. So far as my observation has gone, the Mexicans treat them with great kindness. After a while they became conversant with the language, became attached to the families they live in, and very seldom care to run away. If they should attempt to run away, I believe they would be captured by the owners. They are held as servants; as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.' These servants do not intermarry much with the Mexicans, just the women bear children from illicit intercourse. The offspring of this intercourse are considered peons. The Indians upon the reservation, if properly cared for by the military commander, run no risk of being stolen or attacked."

The Navajos inhabited a wide expanse of country, portions of which, by nature, were almost impregnable to attacking forces. Their complete subjugation, their removal from their native haunts, and the gathering in of the tribe so that they could be placed upon a reservation, became an absolute necessity. With this object in view, General Carleton organized an expedition against them under Colonel "Kit" Carson.

It was composed of two thousand picked men from the Coloradans and Californians.

At that time the Navajo reservation was supposed to be very rich in minerals, and General Carleton suggested in one of his communications to the Government, that the opening up of this rich mineral country, would more than reimburse the Government for the expense attending it. In speaking of the Navajos, he says:

“They have no government to make treaties; they are a patriarchal people. One set of families may make promises but the other set will not heed them. They understand the direct application of force as a law; if its application be removed, that moment they become lawless. This has been tried over and over again, and at great expense. The purpose now is, never to relax the application of force with a people that can no more be trusted than the wolves that run through the mountains. To collect them together, little by little, on to a reservation, away from the haunts and hills and hiding places of their country; there to be kind to them; there teach their children how to read and write; teach them the arts of peace; teach them the truths of Christianity.”

The Navajos were given ample warning of General Carleton’s intention. He personally notified some of the chiefs, and sent messengers to others informing them that unless before the 20th day of July, 1863, they came in and surrendered, “after that day every Navajo that is seen will be considered hostile, and treated accordingly.”

A few Navajos accepted the proffered terms and against the others the troops were kept operating from Forts Stanton, Craig, Canby, Defiance and the post of Los Pinos. Prowling bands of Navajos appeared in all directions. They went everywhere in their expeditions. One band of one hundred and thirty warriors penetrated the Mescalero country, and, passing north, drove off cattle and sheep from the Bosque Redondo. They were pursued by a few troops and some Mescaleros, and the property was retaken, with other stolen goods. Orders were given to the soldiers everywhere to kill every male Navajo capable of bearing arms, wherever he might be found. Women and children were to be captured and held as prisoners. These orders were often repeated in their prosecution. The following, issued to Colonel Rigg, commanding at Fort Craig, on August 4, 1863, is a sample of the general instructions:

“I have been informed that there is a spring called Ojo de Cibolo, about fifteen miles west of Limitar, where the Navajos drive their stolen cattle and ‘jerk’ the flesh at their leisure. Cannot you make arrangements for a party of resolute men from your command to be stationed there for say, thirty days, and kill every Navajo and Apache they can find? A cautious, wary commander, hiding his men and moving about at night, might kill off a good many Indians near that point.”

These orders were harsh, and, to the refined ear, may seem the very essence of cruelty and barbarism, but it was the only course to pursue in order to bring about a permanent peace with

the Navajos. Separated in small bands, they were constantly on the move through a country with which they were thoroughly acquainted, and in this way they were able to avoid the soldiers for whom they kept a vigilant watch. After a few weeks of this desultory fighting, the soldiers were stimulated to a further activity by the offer of twenty dollars for each good horse turned over to the quartermaster's department, and one dollar for each sheep.

Colonel Carson's force was the principal one operating against the Navajos, he having taken the offensive from Fort Canby, but although he was known as the greatest Indian fighter of his time, his energy and activity never for a moment being questioned, yet, during the summer of 1863, the results attained were not important. Carleton consoled the Colonel with the hope that "As winter approaches you will have better luck." But with the approach of winter the success of the expedition was not in accordance with the expectations, so it was decided to attack the Navajos in the Canyon de Chelly, which was their greatest stronghold. Colonel Carson was ordered to prepare for this movement, which was to be made in January, 1864. The Canyon de Chelly was the home of only a small portion of the tribe. There was not sufficient grass to support the flocks of a larger tribe, but it was a place remarkable from the fact that it was naturally impregnable. A general description of this Canyon at that time is to be found in Dunn's "Massacres of the Mountains," and is as follows:

"The Canyon de Chelly is one of the most remarkable works of nature in the United States.

The Rio Chelly may be found, not very accurately traced, on any fair-sized map of Arizona in the northeastern corner of that territory. Its headwaters are in the Sierra Tunicha of Northwestern New Mexico, and it flows thence almost due west, for some thirty miles, then swings abruptly to the north, and empties into the Rio San Juan near the northern line of Arizona. The line of its western flow indicates the position of the Canyon, which extends throughout that district, the northward bend of the river being just beyond its mouth. The main canyon is counted as beginning at the union of three small streams, each of which has a canyon of its own. They are the Cienega Negra (Black Meadow) or Estrella (Star) on the southeast, the Palo Negro (Black Timber) or Chelly Creek, on the east, and the Cienega Juanica or Juanita, on the northwest. The most easterly entrance used by the Indians is near the head of Chelly Creek; by it, the bottom of that stream is reached above the junction of the others. It is not accessible for animals. The Cienega Negra enters it about three miles below the head of the Chelly proper, and the Juanica half a mile lower. At places above the entrance of the last-named stream the chasm is so narrow that one might almost leap across it, but the beholder involuntarily recoils from the dizzy view of over one thousand feet of unbroken descent to the yellow floor beneath. About half a mile below the Juanica there is another descent, where the wall of the canyon, there only seven hundred feet high, is broken and sufficiently sloping to permit a zigzag descent to pack animals. Below this

point the walls increase in height to fifteen hundred feet, and the width of the canyon from two hundred to three hundred and fifty yards. The next approach is by a side canyon that enters on the south side, about eleven miles below the Juanica; it is commonly known as Bat Canyon, but the Indians and the Mexicans call it Canyon Alsada, or Canyon of the High Rock, from a natural obelisk, one thousand feet high, with a base of one hundred and fifty feet, that rises majestically at the mouth of the Canyon, a hundred feet distant from the wall. This needle leans so much that it seems about to topple over. The Alsada entrance is the one commonly used in approaching from Fort Defiance, and the trail is cut deep in the sandstone by thousands of feet of men and animals that in past generations have followed it. The descent here is along ledges on the canyon wall, so narrow that animals are always driven ahead, for fear they may slip and carry the owner over. Occasionally, below this point, there are lateral openings in the canyon walls, but none of them extends more than a few hundred yards back, and there is no other entrance until about three miles above the mouth where the Canyon del Trigo (Wheat Canyon), enters from the north. Below the Trigo, the walls sink rapidly, and the canyon opens out into a rolling country, barren and unprepossessing."

Colonel Carson started from Fort Canby on January 6, 1864, with a force of three hundred and ninety officers and men for the mouth of the Canyon. Before starting, he sent Captain Pfeiffer, with one company, to operate from the eastern end. His command was three days

marching from Fort Canby to the Pueblo Colorado on account of snow, a distance usually accomplished in one day. The supply train, which started on the 3rd, had taken five days to make this distance of twenty-five miles, and had lost twenty-seven oxen. He left a part of the train at the Pueblo Colorado, and pushed on to the Canyon, which he reached on the 12th, about six miles above the mouth. On the night of the 11th, Sergeant Andres Herrera, with fifty men, was sent out upon a scouting expedition. The following morning, this party found a fresh trail, and, following it rapidly, overtook the Indians just as they were entering the Canyon. They killed eleven, captured two women and two children, with one hundred and thirty sheep and goats. On the 13th, Carson divided his force into two commands, one, under Captain Barney, was sent up the north side of the canyon, and the other, under Captain Carey, accompanied by Carson himself, moved up the south side with a view to ascertaining the topography of the country, and the position of the Navajo if they had undertaken to make a stand. The latter party captured five wounded Indians at the scene of Herrera's fight. On the 14th they returned to the mouth of the canyon and found Pfeiffer there he having marched successfully through the canyon without any casualty to his command. He had killed three Indians and brought in nineteen women and children.

Three Indians, under a flag of truce, entered Carson's camp and asked if they might come in with their families and surrender. They were told that they could provided they came in be-

fore ten o'clock the next morning, but not later. About sixty came in by the appointed time and acceded to the terms of surrender and removal to the Bosque. Carson says: "They declared that, owing to the operations of my command, they are in a complete state of starvation, and that many of their women and children have already died from this cause. They also stated that they would have come in long ago, but that they believed it was a war of extermination, and that they were equally surprised and delighted to learn the contrary from an old captive whom I had sent back to them for the purpose. I issued them some meat, and as they asked permission to return to their haunts and collect the remainder of their people, I directed them to meet me at this post (Fort Canby) in ten days. They have all arrived here according to promise, and many of them, with others, joining and travelling in with Captain Carey's command. This command of seventy-five men I conferred upon Captain Carey at his own request, he being desirous of passing through this stupendous canyon. I sent the party to return through the Canyon from west to east, that all the peach orchards, of which there are many, might be destroyed, as well as the dwellings of the Indians."

About three thousand peach trees were destroyed in the canyon; and one hundred and ten Navajos came in with Carey's command. On January 23rd, Colonel Carson reported the results of the expedition as follows: "Killed 23; captured 34; voluntarily surrendered 200; captured 200 head of sheep."

In his report of January 23rd, 1864, of this expedition Carson says: "But it is to the ulterior effects of the expedition that I look for the greatest results. We have shown the Indians that in no place, however formidable or inaccessible in their opinion, are they safe from the pursuit of the troops of this command, and have convinced a large portion of them that the struggle on their part is a hopeless one. We have also demonstrated that the intentions of the government towards them are eminently humane, and dictated by an earnest desire to promote their welfare; that the principle is not to destroy but to save them, if they are disposed to be saved. When all this is understood by the Navajos, generally, as it soon will be, and when they become convinced that destruction will follow on resistance, they will gladly avail themselves of the opportunities afforded them of peace and plenty under the fostering care of the government, as do all those now with whom I have had any means of communicating. They are arriving almost hourly, and will, I believe, continue to arrive until the last Indian in this section of the country is en route to the Bosque Redondo."

Carson's prediction was verified by subsequent events. The Navajos surrendered so fast that General Carleton's resources were taxed to the utmost to support them. By February 20th, seven hundred and fifty had surrendered at Los Pinos, and been forwarded to the Bosque. On February 24th, sixteen hundred and fifty surrendered at Fort Canby, and on the same date thirteen hundred more were reported from Los Pinos. By March 11th fifteen hundred more

had come in at Fort Canby, and General Carleton notified Carson that he could not take care of more than one additional thousand. By July 8th there were six thousand three hundred and twenty-one at the Bosque, and a thousand more at Fort Canby. The war was evidently ended; Fort Canby was ordered abandoned in August and the troops were sent into Arizona.

The number of Navajos had been under-estimated by General Carleton. Carson maintained that there were at least twelve thousand, and, according to subsequent statistics, he was right, but Carleton insisted that there were not more than eight thousand. The greatest number ever at the Bosque Redondo was between nine and ten thousand. The remainder of the nation lurked in their old haunts or fell back to the desert regions of Arizona and Utah to avoid the troops. New Mexico offered to relieve the Government of a portion of the heavy expense of caring for the exiled Navajos by a system of binding out, but the offer was declined and the Navajos were all sent to the Bosque where, at that time, were also gathered a number of Mescalero Apaches. These two tribes had been enemies; their customs differed; the Mescaleros were bolder warriors, but were far inferior in numbers. Tribal jealousies were aggravated by petty aggressions and hectoring. The Apaches accused the Navajos of trampling down their crops, and otherwise annoying them. The reservation authorities made the matter worse by removing the Mescaleros from the land they had been cultivating, and giving it to the Navajos. The Mescaleros then claimed the fulfillment of

the promise to them of a reservation in their own country, and when this was refused, they went without permission, and began hostilities. The fitness of the Bosque Redondo for these Indians has been a subject of great controversy.

“Agriculture at the Bosque did not result successfully; the crops usually promised well enough, but something always spoiled them. One time it was drought, another cut worms, another bad irrigation or overflows, or hail storms. The Indians were, of necessity, a great expense to the government. The cost of feeding them for seven months, March to September, inclusive, in 1865, was \$452,356.98. The cost for the year previous to this time averaged higher than this, but the exact figures cannot be given, on account of the large amount of stores transferred from other departments and not reported as to value. All this time it was well known that they could support themselves in their own country. The principal cause of their helplessness in their new home was that they were a pastoral, not an agricultural people. In their own country their chief food is goats’ milk and the roots of certain herbs of wild growth. Their flocks had been largely destroyed during the war. Tradition puts the number of sheep killed by soldiers at fifty thousand, but the Navajos say that the Utes and Mexicans stole the greater part of them. The Bosque did not afford grazing facilities for the sheep and goats they still had, and these gradually decreased in number. It has been proven since then that they can and will take care of themselves, very easily, if they can get ample pasturage; and unless stock raising is

to be considered a less civilized pursuit than agriculture, there is no reason why any forcible attempt should be made to change the natural bent of their industrial instincts.

“The head of the opposition to the Bosque was Dr. Matthew Steck, a well known settler in New Mexico, at that time Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He favored giving the Mescaleros a reservation in their own country, as had been promised them, and opposed the removal of the Navajos to the Bosque. He advocated his views in New Mexico, and when he found he could do nothing there, he went to Washington to secure the same ends. Carleton complained bitterly of this attempted interference with his plans, and insisted upon the enforcement of the ultra-human policy; that is, on compelling the Indians to do what the white man in authority—in this case himself—may think to be best for them. He said: ‘Dr. Steck wants to hold councils with the Navajos! It is mockery to hold councils with a people who are in our hands, and have only to await our decision. It will be bad policy to hold any councils. We should give them what they need, what is just, and take care of them as children until they can take care of themselves. The Navajos should never leave the Bosque, and never shall if I can prevent it. I told them that that should be their home. They have gone there with that understanding. There is land enough there for themselves and the Apaches. The Navajos themselves are Apaches, and talk the same language, and in a few years will be homogeneous with them.’ He was proven to be mistaken as to the two tribes

becoming homogeneous; whether he was wrong in other respects is a question about which people will differ; in brief, it is simply the question whether the concentration policy is the right one—whether it is better to place Indians where they do not wish to be, oblige them to do things which they do not wish to do, and force them to abandon the pursuits by which they had formerly supported themselves. General Carleton also accused Mr. Steck of acting from interested motives, but he did not specify in what regard.

“In the winter of 1864–65, the Navajos at the Bosque were reduced to terrible straits through the destruction of their crops by cut worms. There was want all through that portion of the country from various causes. Neither the War nor the Indian Department was able to relieve them adequately. There was no relief from natural sources, for the acorns, cedar berries, wild potatoes, palmillas and other roots, mescal and mesquite, on which they could rely in their old home in times of famine, were not found in the Bosque. Cattle and sheep were issued to them for food, ‘head and pluck’ and the blood of the slaughtered animals was ordered to be saved to make ‘haggis and blood puddings’ for the orphan children. To add to their distress, these people, who make the most serviceable blankets in the world and usually have plenty of them, were destitute, by the ravages of their enemies, of both blankets and clothing. They had no houses, and, as substitutes, holes were ordered to be dug, in which they might be sheltered from the wind. In spite of all his efforts and ingenuity, General Carleton knew that they

must suffer, and, on October 31, 1864, he directed the commandant at Fort Sumner to explain his good intentions to the Indians. 'Tell them,' he said, 'to be too proud to murmur at what cannot be helped. We could not foresee the total destruction of their corn crop, nor could we foresee that the frost and hail would come and destroy the crop in the country; but not to be discouraged; to work hard, every man and woman, to put in large fields next year, when, if God smiles upon our efforts, they will, at one bound, be forever placed beyond want, and be independent. Tell them not to believe ever that we are not their best friends; that their enemies have told them that we would destroy them; that we had sent big guns there to attack them; that those guns were only to be used against their enemies if they continue to behave as they have done.'

"With all his good intentions, General Carleton was inexcusable, under analogy of the laws that are daily administered in every state and territory of the Union. There is no excuse known for the failure under such circumstances. When a man is restrained of his liberty, or deprived of any right, for the purpose of benefiting him, there is no extenuation except he be in fact benefited, or, at least, not injured. Good intentions never excuse a wrong; and though, as a war measure, placing the Navajos at the Bosque may be justified, keeping them there against their will, in time of peace, is clearly an infringement of natural right. Our Government must actually benefit the Indians by the reservation system in order to justify itself. Still, General

Carleton stuck to his theory, and said that if the Navajos were moved from the Bosque at all, they ought to be sent to Kansas or the Indian Territory. In 1865 the worms destroyed the crops again, and, on July 18, after giving directions for husbanding all food, Carleton instructed the officer in command: 'You should tell the Indians what a dreadful year it is, and how they must save everything to eat which lies in their power, or starvation will come upon them.' The Indians had been slipping away from the place in small parties since midwinter of 1864-65, and in July a large party, under Ganado Blanco (White Cattle) broke away forcibly, but they were pursued and driven back. In August Carleton concluded to let the few Coyotero Apaches on the reservation return to their own country, as they desired. In the summer of this year a commission, consisting of Senator Doolittle, Vice-President Foster and Representative Ross, visited New Mexico, and made a full investigation of the Indian affairs there, but nothing resulted from it.

"In 1865 Felipe Delgado succeeded Mr. Steck as Superintendent; he was in harmony with General Carleton, and reported that, 'It is fair to presume that next year their (the Navajos') facilities will be greater,' etc. He had the good sense to recommend the purchase of sheep for them. In 1866 the crops failed again—this time, as Superintendent A. B. Norton, and their agent reported, from bad seed, improper management, and overflows of the Pecos. There were reported to be 7000 Indians on the reservation, and the cost of keeping them was estimated at

\$1,500,000 annually. In 1867 the crops failed, from bad management and hail storms, as reported; the Comanches attacked and robbed the Navajos several times; and many of their horses died from eating poisonous weeds. There were 7300 Indians reported as on the reservation, and their property had become reduced to 550 horses, 20 mules, 940 sheep, and 1025 goats. In 1868 Superintendent Davis reported: 'The Navajos were located several years ago upon a reservation at the Bosque Redondo by the military, and after expending vast sums of money, and after making every effort for more than four years to make it a success, it has proved a total failure. It was certainly a very unfortunate selection for a reserve; no wood, unproductive soil, and very unhealthy water, and the Indians were so much dissatisfied they planted no grain last spring, and I verily believe they were making preparations to leave as the Apaches did.'

"Fortunately for all concerned, General Sherman and Colonel Tappan, Peace Commissioners, reached New Mexico in May, 1868. They satisfied themselves that the Navajos would never become self-supporting or contented at the Bosque Redondo, and, on June 1, entered into an agreement with the tribe by which they were to be removed to their former country. The reservation then given them was included between parallel  $37^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and a parallel drawn through Fort Defiance, for north and south line, and parallel of longitude  $109^{\circ} 30'$ , and a parallel drawn through Ojo del Oso, as east and west lines. The Indians were to receive five dollars annually, in clothing, for each member of

the tribe, and ten dollars for each one engaged in farming or mechanical pursuits. Each head of a family was entitled to select one hundred and sixty acres of land, if he desired to hold in severalty, and in such case he was to receive one hundred dollars in seeds and implements the first year, and twenty-five dollars for each the second and third years. Buildings of the value of \$11,500 were to be erected, and the Navajos pledged themselves to compel all their children between the ages of six and sixteen to attend school. A separate schoolhouse and teacher was to be provided for every thirty pupils; \$150,000 was to be appropriated at once to the Indians, part of which was to be expended in the purchase of 15,000 sheep and goats and 500 cattle, and the remainder to be used for the expenses of their removal, and in such other ways as should appear most beneficial.

“Under this liberal treaty the tribe was removed in 1868, and since then there has been a continuous improvement in their condition. They had very bad luck with their crops for several years, but their herds increased steadily. By 1873, they were reported to have 10,000 horses and 200,000 sheep and goats. In 1872 an Indian police force was organized at the agency, on recommendation of Captain Bennett, and placed under control of Manuelito, their war chief, providing, for the first time in their history, for a control of offenders by tribal authority. It was discontinued in 1873 for a short time, but was soon put in force again, with beneficial results. A few years later the Indians abandoned it on account of the small pay given

to the policemen. About fifteen men are now employed, and they appear to be all that are needed. In 1876 the Navajos were reported as self-supporting, notwithstanding they had lost 40,000 sheep by freezing during the past winter. In 1878 their agent said: 'Within the ten years during which the present treaty with the Navajos had been in force, they have grown from a band of paupers to a nation of prosperous, industrious, shrewd and (for barbarians) intelligent people.' They were reported at that time as numbering 11,800, and owning 20,000 horses, 1500 cattle, and 500,000 sheep; they were tilling 9192 acres of land, and obtained ninety-five per cent of their subsistence from civilized pursuits.

"In fact they were increasing so rapidly that there was an urgent call for more room, and, as there was desert land to spare in all directions, it was given to them. By executive order of October 29, 1878, there was added to their reservation the land between the northern line of Arizona parallel  $110^{\circ}$  of west longitude, parallel  $36^{\circ}$  of north latitude, and the western line of the reservation. Still there was a call for more land, and on January 6, 1880, they were given a strip fifteen miles wide along the eastern side of the reservation, and one six miles wide along the southern line. In the latter year, three windmill pumps and fifty-two stock pumps were put in at different points on the reservation, which have stopped much of their wandering in search of water, and added greatly to the value of their grazing lands. Their march of improvement has not stopped, and in 1884 the nation, estimated at 17,000, cultivated 15,000

acres of land, and raised 220,000 bushels of corn and 21,000 bushels of wheat; they had 35,000 horses and 1,000,000 sheep. In 1884 the reservation was extended west to  $111^{\circ} 30'$ , and the northern boundary was made the Colorado and San Juan Rivers. By this addition, the reservation enclosed the Moqui Pueblo Reservation on two sides, and the agencies for the two have been consolidated. This order, increasing the reservation by 1,769,600 acres in Arizona and Utah, was supplemented by one taking away 46,000 acres in New Mexico; the reservation as now established includes 8,159,360 acres, mostly desert land."

The foregoing is taken from Dunn's "Massacres of the Mountains," published in 1886.

The Navajos, from the time they were restored to their old camping grounds, were never afterwards hostile to the whites, but were self-supporting in every particular.

## CHAPTER IX.

## EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS.

PAULINE WEAVER—FRIENDLY WITH INDIANS—DISCOVERS GILA PLACERS, ALSO WEAVER DIGGINGS—DEATH OF—CHARLES O. BROWN—MEMBER OF GLANTON BAND—AT TUCSON AT TIME OF CONFEDERATE INVASION—HAD MONOPOLY OF SELLING LIQUORS AND GAMBLING—BROUGHT FIRST SEWING MACHINE INTO TERRITORY, ALSO FIRST BABY CARRIAGE—BUILT CONGRESS HALL IN TUCSON—WROTE “HISTORY OF ARIZONA”—L. J. F. JAEGER—RAN FERRY AT YUMA—ESTABLISHED TOWN OF SONOITA—FIRST AMERICAN STORE IN TUCSON—CHARLES D. POSTON PROSPECTS AND OPENS MINES—APPOINTED SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS—PROMOTES IRRIGATION—HERMAN EHRENBERG—MINING ENGINEER—TOWN OF EHRENBERG NAMED AFTER HIM—EARLY SETTLER AT LA PAZ—KILLED BY INDIANS—PETER KITCHEN—A SUCCESSFUL RANCHER—FORTIFIED HOUSES—FIGHTS WITH INDIANS—DESCRIPTION OF HIS RANCH—HIRAM S. STEVENS—BECOMES RICH IN ARIZONA—ELECTED DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—STORY OF HIS ELECTION—JAMES PENNINGTON AND PENNINGTON FAMILY—HARASSED BY INDIANS—STORY OF CAPTURE OF MRS. PAIGE BY INDIANS—JAMES PENNINGTON AND SON KILLED BY INDIANS—W. H. KIRKLAND—RAISED FIRST AMERICAN FLAG

## AT TUCSON—HE AND WIFE FIRST WHITE COUPLE MARRIED IN ARIZONA—MINER AND RANCHER.

Probably, the first white settler, if, indeed, a trapper at that time could be called a settler, was Pauline Weaver, a native of White County, Tennessee. Of his early history there is little known. His name is inscribed upon the walls of the Casa Grande with the date, 1833. He is credited with having explored the Verde, and also the Colorado River numerous times. There was hardly a foot of the Territory of Arizona he was not conversant with. Differing entirely from the majority of the trappers of that day, he had no difficulties with the Indians, but was always free to enter their camps. He had the confidence of the Pimas, the Maricopas, the Yumas, the Wallapais, the Mohaves and the different tribes along the Colorado, speaking their languages fluently. He was never known to engage in any hostile expedition against them, but was frequently a peace messenger, arranging, as far as possible, any difficulties between the whites and the Indians, without resorting to arms.

He discovered the placers along the Gila, and also the placers at Weaver Diggings near Antelope Creek in the southern part of Yavapai County, a full account of which is given in one of the succeeding chapters of this volume.

Weaver located a ranch in Yavapai County, where he lived for many years, and died at Camp Verde in the late 60's and is buried in the Government burial ground.

Charles O. Brown, who has been mentioned in these pages already, was born in New York, and when but a young man came west. He is said to have been a member of the Glanton band which was engaged in gathering scalps of the Indians in Chihuahua, for which they received \$150 each. Reference to this band has been previously made. Brown had gone to California when Glanton and his associates were murdered by the Indians at Yuma. It is not certain when he returned to Arizona, probably about the year 1858. He was a saloon man and a gambler, a dead shot, and it is said that he had several notches on his gun. He was in Tucson at the time of the Confederate invasion, and remained there after the Confederates left. When the California Column arrived he was, as before stated, given a monopoly for the selling of liquor and gambling in Tucson by Colonel West. From there Brown went to the Mesilla Valley, where he married a Mexican woman of good family, and settled permanently in Tucson about the year 1864 or 1865. He was very prosperous in his saloon business, his saloon becoming the popular resort of all classes when the prospectors, miners and adventurers began to flow into the southern part of Arizona. He brought into the Territory the first sewing-machine, which was a great curiosity to the Mexican inhabitants of Arizona and Sonora. Many came from as far as Magdalena in Sonora to see a machine which sewed rapidly by the application of a little foot-power. Upon the birth of his first son, he sent to St. Louis and brought in a baby carriage, an unheard of thing

at that time in Arizona. In 1867 or 68 he built Congress Hall in Tucson, in which the first legislature held at Tucson was convened. The saloon had floors of wood, the lumber for which was hauled from Santa Fe, and cost \$500 a thousand. The locks on the doors cost \$12 each, and all other material in like proportion. For a long time it stood as the best building in Southern Arizona. When the writer came to Arizona in July, 1879, one of the first acquaintances he made was Charles O. Brown, who gave him the following piece of poetry which he had written a few years before, embodying his idea of what Arizona was, and how it came to be made:

### “THE HISTORY OF ARIZONA.

How it was made,  
And who made it.

The Devil was given permission one day,  
To select him a land for his own special sway;  
So he hunted around for a month or more  
And fussed and fumed and terribly swore,  
But at last was delighted a country to view  
Where the prickly pear and the mesquite grew.  
With a survey brief, without further excuse  
He took his stand on the banks of the Santa  
Cruz.

He saw there were some improvements to make,  
For he felt his own reputation at stake;  
An idea struck him and he swore by his horns  
To make a complete vegetation of thorns;  
He studded the land with the prickly pear  
And scattered the cactus everywhere,  
The Spanish dagger, sharp pointed and tall  
And last—the choya—the worst of all.

He imported the Apaches direct from hell,  
And the ranks of his sweet-scented train to  
swell,  
A legion of skunks, whose loud, loud smell  
Perfumed the country he loved so well.  
And then for his life, he could not see why  
The river should carry more water supply,  
And he swore if he gave it another drop  
You might take his head and horns for a mop.  
He filled the river with sand till it was almost  
dry,  
And poisoned the land with alkali,  
And promised himself on its slimy brink  
The control of all who from it should drink.  
He saw there was one more improvement to  
make,  
He imported the scorpion, tarantula and  
rattlesnake,  
That all who might come to this country to dwell,  
Would be sure to think it was almost hell.  
He fixed the heat at one hundred and seven  
And banished forever the moisture from  
heaven,  
But remembered as he heard his furnace roar,  
That the heat might reach five hundred or  
more,  
And after he fixed things so thorny and well,  
He said, 'I'll be d——d if this don't beat  
hell';  
Then he flopped his wings and away he flew  
And vanished from earth in a blaze of blue.

And now, no doubt, in some corner of hell  
He gloats over the work he has done so well,  
And vows that Arizona cannot be beat,  
For scorpions, tarantulas, snakes and heat.  
For with his own realm it compares so well  
He feels assured it surpasses hell."

In his gambling hall and liquor saloon, Brown had a mint, but it went almost as fast as made. He was very generous to his friends, and he managed in this way to squander a fortune. He was, also, always staking men for prospecting, which seldom proves a lucrative venture. He died a few years ago, leaving no property whatever.

The following biographical sketch of L. J. F. Jaeger, was furnished me by his son, now living at Tucson:

"My father, L. J. F. Jaeger, was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania. He worked as a mechanic in the Baldwin shops, Philadelphia. Later was appointed mechanic in the arsenal at Washington, D. C. In the latter part of 1848, he took the first sailing vessel out of Philadelphia bound for San Francisco, the 'Mason.' On reaching San Francisco he worked for a while as a carpenter. At that time the Bay extended to Montgomery Street. He was then employed as engineer on the boats running between San Francisco and Oakland at \$25.00 per day. Giving up this position, he joined a party formed to go down to the Colorado River. They had heard of a big influx of people coming into California from New Mexico and Mexico. The party landed at a point about 9 miles below the present site of Yuma, at what was known as

Fort Yuma. They had to saw their own boards out of cottonwood trees to make flat boats to ferry the traffic over the river. This was the beginning of the ferry they established. Later on my father bought out the other parties and operated the ferry on his own account. The company built a stockade at the ferry to protect themselves from the Yuma Indians.

\* \* \* \* \*

"In 1851 he returned to Yuma with the troops under General Heintzelman and General Thomas. He established the second ferry just about seven or eight miles from the present Fort Yuma school, which was then the Fort Yuma Military Reservation. They fought with the Indians about a year, and at the end of that time peace was made with the Indians. The treaty was made at the Jaeger house. The Yuma Indians have never broken the peace treaty. During the years 1851-54 Fort Yuma was established and the building completed. My father was at this time carrying passengers across the river, also large droves of cattle and sheep being driven into California by the Luna and Baca families from New Mexico. On the discovery of the Vulture Mine at Wickenburg, my father hauled out the first train load of ore from the mine, which was shipped to San Francisco. He had contracts with the Government for hauling supplies to all the forts up to 1863. He was one of the stockholders in the first canal in the Salt River valley. He also established the town of Sonoita, just across the line in Sonora, and from there he drew a great deal of his supplies furnished to the Government. In

1861-62, there were tremendous floods on the Colorado River, which washed out part of Jaegerville, the first ferry crossing. Arizona City, now Yuma, was then established. In 1863 the first large store in Arizona was established at Arizona City by a man named Hinton, who brought in a mechanic from San Diego to put a tin roof on his building. The name of the mechanic was Julian. This was probably the first tin roof placed on a building in this territory.

“My father ran the ferry up to 1877 when the Southern Pacific was extended through to Yuma, selling out to that railroad.”

(The part left out in the above designated by asterisks, is a description of Mr. Jaeger’s trip to San Diego, on the return part of which he was severely wounded by the Indians. This is given in full in an earlier chapter of this work in that portion devoted to the Yuma ferries.)

Mr. Jaeger died in Washington, D. C., June 30, 1892, where he had gone to press his Indian and other claims against the Government.

Charles D. Poston, whose name is thoroughly identified with the early history of Arizona, and to whom we have had occasion to refer to heretofore, and will, in future volumes record his further activities, was born in Hardin county, Kentucky, April 20th, 1825. He was left motherless when twelve years of age, and soon thereafter was placed in the County Clerk’s office, where he served an apprenticeship of seven years. He was in the office of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, at Nashville, for the next three years, where he studied law and was admitted to the bar. Upon the annexation of Cali-

fornia, and the discovery of gold in that State, he decided to seek a home in that favored land, and upon his arrival in San Francisco was employed in the customhouse. After the Gadsden purchase, he came with an exploring party to Arizona. After examining the Territory, he was favorably impressed with its richness in gold and silver. He returned to California, and from thence journeyed to New York, Kentucky and Washington, where he spent a year in interesting capital in the new Territory.

In 1856, having accomplished the task he had assigned himself, Mr. Poston returned to Arizona, provided with funds for prospecting and opening mines, which were furnished by a New York company. Afterwards he was transferred to the New York office when the civil war broke out, for, as we have seen, all work upon these mines was then abandoned. Upon the organization of the Territory in 1863, he was appointed by President Lincoln, Superintendent of Indian Affairs. This office he held for about one year, when he was elected first Delegate to Congress from the Territory of Arizona. At the conclusion of his term, he made a tour of Europe, and visited the Paris Exposition of 1867. Returning to Washington, he engaged in the practice of law there. When the news of the Burlingame Chinese Embassy came over the water, it aroused an ambition to see the historic places of Asia, and in company with J. Ross Browne, an old friend and the then minister to China, he crossed the ocean, bearing with him a commission from Mr. Seward to visit Asia in the interests of immigration and irrigation, and was also the bearer

of dispatches from the Chinese Embassy to the Emperor of China.

Before the inauguration of President Hayes, Mr. Poston was appointed by President Grant, register of the United States Land Office of Arizona, and he also served as consular agent at Nogales, Mexico, and Military agent at El Paso, Texas. The five years subsequent were spent in Washington, where he promoted the interests of Government irrigation, a measure which has since been so perfected that it is making homes for many thousands of our citizens upon the arid lands. For some time prior to his demise, he lived in Phoenix, where he died on June 24th, 1902.

Herman Ehrenberg, for whom the town of Ehrenberg on the Colorado River is named, was a German by birth. At an early age, he left his native country, and, landing in New York, worked his way down to New Orleans, where he had located when the Texas War of Independence broke out. He enlisted in the New Orleans Grays, and was present at the battle of Goliad and Fanning's defeat, being one of the few who survived the barbarous massacre of prisoners who surrendered at that time to the Mexican authorities. He returned to Germany at the close of the Texas War, and wrote an account of that interesting period, giving full information of the new country, which induced a large number of Germans to settle in Texas. He returned to the United States in 1840, and joined a party at St. Louis, which crossed the continent to Oregon. From thence he went to the Sandwich Islands, and, after wandering in

Polynesia for a few years, returned to California in time to join Colonel Fremont in his efforts to free California from the Mexican rule.

When the Gadsden Purchase was perfected, his restless ambitions were directed to Arizona, with the history of which Territory he was closely identified to the time of his death. When the Sonora Exploring and Mining Company was organized in 1856, with Major, (afterwards Major-General), Heintzelman as President, Ehrenberg was appointed topographical and mining engineer, and surveyor, for that company. For a number of years he was actively engaged in the operation of the Cerro Colorado and other mines near the Sonora line, the reports upon which first gave him a reputation as a mining engineer in San Francisco and New York. Ehrenberg's map of the Gadsden Purchase, although the first, was accredited as being one of the best at that time of the Territory of Arizona. In 1862-63, Mr. Ehrenberg was attracted by the rush of miners to the Colorado River, and was one of the earliest settlers at La Paz, where he made his residence at the time of his death. In connection with B. Phillips, he took an active part in developing the Picacho mine near La Paz. He was interested with Messrs. Gray, Cunningham and others in the Harcuvar Copper Mines, afterwards known as the Yuma Copper Company, on the direct road from La Paz to Weaver, to which road the miners gave his name in 1864, in view of his being the first to call attention to its great advantages.

Mr. Ehrenberg visited Prescott in May or June, 1864, when the town was being laid out. During the year 1866 he spent considerable time there examining the mines in that vicinity. He wrote several excellent descriptions of Northern Arizona for the *Alta California*, of which paper he had long been a favored correspondent.

A man of acknowledged integrity, he was both scientific and practical; a careful and accomplished student of geology, mineralogy and metallurgy, he was an authority on all matters relating to mining. His reports were never overdrawn, and invited most critical investigation. To have him speak well of a mine was to establish its reputation at once. As a writer he was clear and precise, and his contributions to the various mining journals would make a valuable volume. He was a fearless and enthusiastic pioneer. He loved the frontier and was never so happy as when roaming around the hills of Arizona, eagerly examining their rich metallic formation. He was unobtrusive as a citizen, but was progressive. He was repeatedly offered offices, but the only one of which there is a record of his having accepted was, when in connection with Thomas E. Dunn, in 1864-66, he was Indian agent for the Mohaves on the Colorado River Reservation. All other political offices he refused, although in all that tended to the welfare of society, he had the liveliest concern.

His death was mourned, not only through the Territory of Arizona, but by the mining men of San Francisco and New York, and in the scientific circles of Europe. He was shot at Dos Palmas, California, on the road from San





PETER KITCHEN.

Bernardino to La Paz, in October, 1866, by parties unknown, but supposed to have been Indians.

One of the earliest pioneers of Arizona was Peter Kitchen, who came to the Territory in 1854. He was born in Covington, Kentucky, in 1822. Little is known of his early life beyond the fact that he served in some capacity during the Mexican War. He was a man, as I remember him, about five feet ten inches in height, rather spare, always wearing a wide brimmed sombrero; very quiet in his manner; low and soft spoken. There was nothing about the man to indicate the daredevil of dime novels, which is associated in the Eastern mind with the pioneers of the West. After coming to the Territory, he lived at the Canoa for several years, and then moved to a ranch near Nogales, called the Potrero, where he farmed a little, and raised cattle and hogs. He fortified his residences, both at the Canoa and the Potrero by building the adobe walls of the houses higher than the roofs, and having loopholes to shoot through. On many occasions he and his employees stood off Apache attacks. He lived in the heart of the Apache country, and, although subjected to severe losses, he refused to leave the country, but defied the red devils to the end. The following description of his ranch is taken from Bourke's "On the Border with Crook."

"Approaching Pete Kitchen's Ranch, one finds himself in a fertile valley, with a small hillock near one extremity. Upon the summit of this has been built the house from which no effort of the Apaches has ever succeeded in driv-

ing our friend. There is a sentinel posted on the roof, there is another out in the 'cienega' with the stock, and the men ploughing in the bottoms are obliged to carry rifles, cocked and loaded, swung to the plough handle. Every man and boy is armed with one or two revolvers on hip. There are revolvers and rifles and shot-guns along the walls, and in every corner. Everything speaks of a land of warfare and bloodshed. The title of 'Dark and Bloody Ground' never fairly belonged to Kentucky. Kentucky was never anything but a Sunday-School convention in comparison with Arizona, every mile of whose surface could tell its tale of horror, were the stones and gravel, the sage-brush and mescal, the mesquite and the yucca, only endowed with speech for one brief hour.

"Within the hospitable walls of the Kitchen home the traveller was made to feel perfectly at ease. If food were not already on the fire, some of the women set about the preparation of the savory and spicy stews for which the Mexicans are deservedly famous, and others kneaded the dough and patted into shape the paper-like tortillas with which to eat the juicy frijoles or dip up the tempting chili colorado. There were women carding, spinning, sewing—doing the thousand and one duties of domestic life on a great ranch, which had its own blacksmith, saddler, and wagon-maker, and all other officials needed to keep the machinery running smoothly.

"Between Pete Kitchen and the Apaches a ceaseless war was waged, with the advantage not all on the side of Kitchen. His employees were killed and wounded, his stock driven away,

his pigs filled with arrows, making the suffering quadrupeds look like perambulating pin-cushions—everything that could be thought of to drive him away; but there he stayed, unconquered and unconquerable."

The following clipping from the Tucson Citizen of June 15, 1872, shows that under adverse circumstances, Pete Kitchen was prosperous:

"Personal: Our friend, Peter Kitchen, was in town this week from the Potrero. He reports that his crops are excellent. He has about twenty acres of potatoes planted, and has made this year about 14,000 pounds of No. 1 bacon and hams, which he has sold at an average of thirty-five cents per pound; also 5,000 pounds of lard, sold at the same price. Mr. Kitchen's ranch is located near the Sonora line and at one of the most exposed points for Apache depredations in Arizona. The Apaches have endeavored to take his place many times—one partner, and all his neighbors, have been murdered, and last summer his boy was killed within gunshot of his door. Instead of being frightened or discouraged by those bold and numerous attacks, he seems only the more determined to stand his ground and take his chances. The Indians have learned to their sorrow that in him they have no insignificant foe. He never travels the same route twice in succession, and he always sleeps with one eye open; therefore, ambushes and surprises do not win on him worth a cent. He has been on the picket line now for fourteen years, and has buried nearly all his old acquaintances and should his luck continue, he may truly be called the first and last of Arizona's pioneers."

Peter Kitchen died a natural death on August 5th, 1895, in Tucson, and was buried in that city.

Hiram S. Stevens, was born in Western Vermont on March 20th, 1832, and came to Arizona in 1855. When a youth of 19 he enlisted as a United States soldier and came to New Mexico in Company "I," First United States Dragoons. On being discharged from the service in 1855, he came to Arizona where he resided continuously up to the time of his death. At first he was a sporting man, then afterwards a trader and speculator, and in 1874, he was counted one of the richest men in the Territory. At this time he was elected Delegate to Congress. The story told of how his election was accomplished, is illustrative of the wild and woolly way of doing things at that time. The gambling fraternity was a very numerous and influential citizenship of Arizona. R. C. McCormick had served several terms in Congress, and in seeking a re-election, was supported by the administration, both territorial and national, which was a force hard to overcome. Stevens was equal to the occasion. He took twenty-five thousand dollars for his campaign fund and sent his agent to all the prominent gamblers in the Territory, saying to them: "Bet one thousand; bet two thousand; three thousand, according to the influence of the man and his following, on Stevens being elected, and if you win, return to me the amount which you have wagered, keeping your winning." In this way he enlisted the active support of the sporting fraternity of Arizona, with the result that he was elected by a handsome majority. He served two terms as Delegate to

Congress; several terms in the Territorial Legislature, and two terms as Treasurer of Pima County, where he died on March 24th, 1893.

James Pennington, familiarly known as "Old Pennington," was also one of the pioneers of Arizona. The Pennington family consisted of James Pennington, his wife and five children, three daughters and two sons. They moved from Tennessee into Texas, and from thence pushed westward through New Mexico into Arizona and settled upon the Sonoita near Fort Buchanan in the year 1857 or 1858. During the time of the abandonment of the country by the Americans "he occupied," says Ross Browne, "a small cabin three miles above the Calabasas, surrounded by roving bands of hostile Indians. He stubbornly refused to leave the country; said he had as much right to it as the infernal Indians, and would live there in spite of all the devils out of the lower regions. His cattle were stolen, his corrals burned down, his fields devastated; yet he stood it out to the last. At times when hard pressed for food, he would go out in the hills for deer, which he packed in on his back at the risk of his life." Frequently, in his absence, his daughters stood guard with guns in their hands, to keep off the Indians who besieged the premises. About this time, Miss Lucera S. Pennington, was married to a Mr. Paige, and was living with her husband in a canyon where she was captured by a roving band of Indians, together with a little girl about ten years of age, said to be a Mexican, and who it is said, afterwards became the wife of the late Charles A. Shibell of Tucson. Mrs Paige, not being able to keep

up with the Indians on their trip over the mountains, one of them ran a lance through her and threw her over a bluff upon a pile of rocks, and supposed he had killed her, as was his intention, but after several days and nights of suffering, she succeeded in getting to where she was recognized, cared for and saved. Her first husband was afterwards killed by Indians. She lived for several years in the vicinity of Camp Crittenden, which was established later near Fort Buchanan, and her father teamed and ranched some on the Sonoita. In 1869, Old James Pennington and his son, Green, were ambushed and killed by the Apaches, and both were buried at Crittenden. Another son named James was killed later by the Apaches. The remainder of the Pennington family moved to Tucson in 1870, and, it is said, returned to Texas, all except Mrs. Paige, who met William F. Scott, at Tucson, and married him. She raised a family of two daughters and one son and died in Tucson March 31, 1913, and was there buried.

“Old Man” Pennington, the head of the family was described as a man of excellent sense, but rather eccentric; large and tall, with a fine face and athletic frame, he presented a good specimen of the American frontiersman. One of the principal streets in Tucson is named for him. This is about all that is known of the Pennington family.

W. H. Kirkland, who raised the first American flag in 1856 in the town of Tucson, was born in Petersburg, Virginia, July 12th, 1832, and emigrated to Arizona shortly after the Gadsden

Purchase, eight or nine years before the organization of the Territory. He and his wife were the first white couple married in Arizona, being married in Tucson May 26th, 1860. In 1863 and 1864, he spent a good deal of time around Walnut Grove mining and ranching, about which time he purchased the ranch located by Pauline Weaver, and there engaged in stockraising. Later he settled in the Salt River Valley, where Mrs. Wayne Ritter, his daughter, was born in Phoenix on August 15th, 1871. She was born in the second house which was built in the city of Phoenix. Kirkland died in Winkleman, Arizona, January 19th, 1911, at the age of 78 years, and was survived by a wife and seven children.

## CHAPTER X.

## EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS. (CONTINUED.)

ESTEVAN OCHOA—EXPULSION FROM TUCSON BY CONFEDERATES—RETURN TO TUCSON—MEMBER OF FIRM OF TULLY AND OCHOA—DRAUGHT OXEN RUN OFF BY INDIANS—“JERKED BEEF BUTTE”—MAYOR OF TUCSON—SERVED IN TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—JOHN F. STONE—GIVES NAME TO STONE AVENUE, TUCSON—SYLVESTER MOWRY—WEST POINTER—RESIGNS COMMISSION IN ARMY TO TAKE UP MINING IN ARIZONA—BECOMES OWNER OF PATAGONIA MINE—MINE CONFISCATED BY GENERAL CARLETON AND MOWRY ARRESTED—MOWRY AS A WRITER—HIS VIEWS ON INDIANS—TWICE ELECTED DELEGATE TO CONGRESS BEFORE ORGANIZATION OF TERRITORY—DEATH IN ENGLAND—SAMUEL HUGHES—CAME TO ARIZONA SICK—ORGANIZED FIRST BANK IN TUCSON—ONE OF ORGANIZERS OF ARIZONA PIONEER'S SOCIETY—HENRY WICKENBURG—DISCOVERS VULTURE MINE—TOWN OF WICKENBURG NAMED AFTER HIM—MEMBER OF SEVENTH TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—KING S. WOOLSEY—FIRST OCCUPATION IN TERRITORY MULE DRIVER—BECOMES RANCHER—SUSPECTED OF BEING SECESSIONIST—FIGHTS WITH INDIANS—HANGING OF DEAD CHIEF—MEMBER OF WALKER PARTY—ONE OF DISCOVERERS OF LYNX CREEK—OPENED FIRST ROAD INTO NORTHERN ARIZONA—THE “PINOLE TREATY”

—“WHEAT FIELDS”—WOOLSEY’S EXPERIENCE WITH A “BAD MAN”—SERVED IN LEGISLATURE OF ARIZONA—DEFEATED FOR DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL OF VOLUNTEERS AND AIDE ON STAFFS OF GOVERNOR GOODWIN AND GOVERNOR SAFFORD—ONE OF FOUNDERS OF PHOENIX FLOUR MILLS.

Estevan Ochoa was a New Mexican by birth. In his early youth he went to Kansas City, where he obtained employment and acquired a fair knowledge of the English language. He started in business on his own account at Mesilla, New Mexico. He made a success of the enterprise, and thereafter started a number of branch stores in both New Mexico and Arizona. The firm of Tully & Ochoa, of which he was a member, was one of the largest mercantile establishments in Tucson. In Bourke’s “On the Border with Crook” is an account of his visit to Tucson, in which he has this to say of Estevan Ochoa:

“This rather undersized gentleman coming down the street is a man with a history—perhaps it might be perfectly correct to say with two or three histories. He is Don Estevan Ochoa, one of the most enterprising merchants, as he is admitted to be one of the coolest and bravest men, in all the Southwestern country. He has a handsome face, a keen black eye, a quick, business-like air, with very polished and courteous manners.

“During the war, the Southern leaders thought they would establish a chain of posts across the continent from Texas to California, and one of their first movements was to send a brigade of Texans to occupy Tucson. The com-

manding general—Turner by name—sent for Don Estevan and told him that he had been informed that he was an outspoken sympathizer with the cause of the Union, but he hoped that Ochoa would see that the Union was a thing of the past, and reconcile himself to the new state of affairs, and take the oath of the Confederacy, and thus relieve the new Commander from the disagreeable responsibility of confiscating his property and setting him adrift outside of his lines.

“Don Estevan never hesitated a moment. He was not that kind of a man. His reply was perfectly courteous, as I am told, all the talk on the part of the Confederate officer had been. Ochoa owed all he had in the world to the Government of the United States, and it would be impossible for him to take an oath of fidelity to any hostile power or party. When would General Turner wish him to leave?

“He was allowed to select one of his many horses, and to take a pair of saddle bags filled with such clothing and food as he could get together on short notice, and then, with a rifle and twenty rounds of ammunition, was led outside the lines and started for the Rio Grande. How he ever made his way across those two hundred and fifty miles of desert and mountains which intervened between the town of Tucson and the Union outposts nearer to the Rio Grande, I do not know—nobody knows. The country was infested with Apaches, and no one of those upon whom he turned his back expected to hear of his getting through alive. But he did succeed, and here he is, a proof of devotion to the cause of

the nation for which it would be hard to find a parallel. When the Union troops reoccupied Tucson, Don Estevan resumed business and was soon wealthy again, in spite of the tribute levied by the raiding Apaches, who once ran off every head of draught oxen the firm of Tully, Ochoa and De Long possessed, and never stopped until they crossed the Rio Salado, or Salt River, where they killed and 'jerked' the meat on the slope of that high mesa which to this day bears the name of 'Jerked Beef Butte.' ”

As a member of this firm of Tully & Ochoa, he operated a stage line from Tucson and Yuma to Santa Fe, New Mexico, executed Government contracts, and for about twenty years was the most extensive freighter in Arizona and New Mexico. Most of this merchandise he handled for himself, and it was hauled from Kansas City on his own freighting outfits, which at the height of his prosperity, represented an investment of one hundred thousand dollars. He was obliged to maintain relay stations along his long route, and his fine system won the admiration of everyone. He was liberal and openhanded, spending his means freely, in which respect he was a typical frontiersman. When the railroad reached Tucson, it was to him a personal loss. His extensive investments in wagons, mules and oxen for freighting purposes, were unmarketable, and involved a loss of over a hundred thousand dollars, besides a great loss in merchandise which had cost him a large amount to import. For many years the city of Tucson was his headquarters; Ochoa street therein being named in his honor. The first public school erected in

Tucson stood on ground which he donated to the city. He was mayor of Tucson for one term, and he represented the district in one session of the Arizona Legislature. His career came to a close on October 27th, 1888, when he died at his home in Las Cruces, New Mexico.

He was a typical frontiersman, bold, aggressive and resourceful, laughing danger to scorn, rarely daunted by any obstacle, and, in brief, possessing just those qualities which are essential in the founding of a new State. Force of character was his undoubtedly, yet, withal, his was a kindly and sympathetic heart, and many a time has he shared his scanty meal on the desert or in the mountains with some poor traveller or Indian. While he was held in some awe and thorough respect, his innate goodness of heart was well known far and wide, and, indeed, few pioneers of this great southwest were more widely known from Kansas City to the boundaries of Old Mexico.

The Tucson Post prints the following concerning John F. Stone:

“Stone Avenue was named for John F. Stone. Just how or why he came to the country no one now living seems to know. He was a man of considerable means and of magnificent physique. Of powerful build and wearing a heavy black beard he stood distinguished among his fellow men. A rich gold vein had been discovered in Apache Pass, and upon this he built a small reduction mill. While en route to Tucson with the proceeds of the first month’s run, he was killed by Indians in Dragoon Pass, about 1500 yards east of the old stage station. The

driver of the stage, two soldiers and two other civilians were killed at the same time. Some time in the early sixties, he built the first house on Stone Avenue. It was situated on the southwest corner of Stone avenue and McCormick street, and is still standing."

Mr. A. F. Banta, in the Apache County "Observer" gives the following account:

"General Stone, as he was known in New Mexico, was Adjutant-General of New Mexico under Governor Henry Connelly, appointed Governor in 1861. After the battle of Apache Canyon, the defeat of the Texans under Sibley, and their expulsion from the territory, via Fort Bliss, Stone resigned the Adjutant-Generalship, and came down to Albuquerque, where, in partnership with a man named Ewing (not sure if his name was Tom or not, he was a large man but not so tall as Stone), and opened the Union Hotel, situated facing the east wall of the old Catholic Church and on the east side of the church plaza, in old Albuquerque. When the writer left Albuquerque in 1863 for Arizona, Stone and Ewing were still running the Union Hotel. As to this last statement, we are not absolutely certain, they may have closed out before we left and started for Arizona, via Las Cruces."

Sylvester Mowry entered West Point Academy in 1848, graduating high up in his class in 1852. Among his classmates were General Crook, General Kautz, Colonel Mendel, Jerome Bonaparte, Jr., Major-General Evans, Captain Mullin of San Francisco, Lieutenant Ives, and other well-known army officers. In the summer of 1853, he was engaged with George B. McClel-

lan on the Columbia, surveying for a railroad route; in 1855 he was with Colonel Steptoe at Salt Lake City, and in the spring of that year conducted some recruits and animals through to California. At this time he was a lieutenant, and, late in the season, was sent to Fort Yuma, from which place he made an expedition into the wilds of Arizona, which inspired him with a high opinion of the territory's great mineral resources. He resigned his commission in the army, in 1857, or about that time, and became the owner of what was known as the Patagonia Mine, which name he changed to his own, and, thereafter, the mine was known as the Mowry Mine. An account of this purchase has been heretofore recorded in these pages. He worked this mine until 1862, when it was confiscated by General Carleton, and Mowry was imprisoned at Fort Yuma on account of his alleged southern sympathies. Mowry always contended that it was the result of an old feud between him and Carleton when they were both in the service. At any rate, after Mowry had been held a prisoner for six months, he was liberated, and sometime afterwards his property was restored to him, but in such condition that it was practically worthless. Mowry said it was paying well at the time he was arrested, but that at the time of its restoration, all the machinery and much of the works were destroyed, or in such condition that it required large capital to place the mine on a productive basis, which he failed thereafter to do. From the close of the war up to the time of his death, he wrote many articles dealing with Arizona, and its political history, which were

published in the San Francisco papers. He printed two books, the best known of which is his "Arizona and Sonora" which is, to-day, used to some extent by mining men. Mowry advocated the extermination of the Indians, saying that was the only way in which a permanent peace could be established in Arizona. In one place he says: "There is only one way to wage war against the Apaches. A steady, persistent campaign must be made, following them to their haunts—hunting them to the fastnesses of the mountains. They must be surrounded, starved into coming in, surprised or inveigled—by white flags, or any other method, human or divine—and then put to death. If these ideas shock any weak-minded individual who thinks himself a philanthropist, I can only say that I pity without respecting his mistaken sympathy. A man might as well have sympathy for a rattlesnake or a tiger."

Sylvester Mowry was twice elected Delegate to Congress from Arizona before the organization of the Territory, but was never allowed to take his seat. He died in London, England, on October 15th, 1871, where he was trying to raise money to operate his mine. In speaking of his death, the Miner, of Prescott, under date of October 19, 1871, says:

"Honorable Sylvester Mowry died in London, England, on Tuesday. This is sad news for Arizona. In the death of Mr. Mowry this Territory has lost as faithful a friend as it ever had in the person of one man. At the present, when all the departments of the Government seem combined in one great effort against us, we can ill afford to

lose the advocacy of a man so influential and so earnest in our behalf."

Samuel Hughes, probably the oldest pioneer Arizonan now living, was born in Wales, British Isles, August 28th, 1829. In 1837 his father settled in Pennsylvania, where Mr. Hughes lived up to 1848, when he became a cabin boy on the Mississippi River, which vocation he followed until 1850, at which time he came to California overland from St. Louis. His first mining was done in Hangtown, California. In 1851 he went to Yreka, California. In 1852 he crossed the mountains to Rogue River Valley in Oregon, where he was one of the first to discover Rich Gulch at Jacksonville. In 1853 he kept Cole station at the foot of the Siskiyou Mountains, and remained there until 1856, when he returned to the Shasta Valley, and soon afterwards became interested in the stock business. In 1857 he was compelled to leave California for the milder climate of Arizona, being, at that time, in the last stages of tuberculosis. He started with a party from Yreka in that year. At Yuma it seemed that his lease of life had apparently expired, with no hope of renewal, but after a few days' rest, the sick man determined to make one more effort to reach his destination, and started again with the party. At Maricopa Wells, about four miles east of the present station at Maricopa, he was seized with a hemorrhage and so greatly weakened, that he was left behind with a few men of the party to care for him, but really to bury him. By force of will power he rallied again and by slow stages was enabled to reach Tucson March 12th, 1858. At



SAMUEL C. HUGHES



that time Tucson was not a very inviting place for invalids. It was a collection of monotonous adobe houses, without wood floors or glass windows, enclosed by high adobe walls with lookout parapets on the corners for protection against the Indians. Mr. Hughes had another hemorrhage which so weakened him that for many months he was in danger of death, after which came the final rally, and he began to recover rapidly. As soon as his strength permitted, he opened a butcher shop, and thereafter engaged in the mercantile business and became an extensive contractor with the Government. He organized the first bank in the city of Tucson, and is now known as one of its wealthiest citizens. He was married in Tucson to Atanacia Santa Cruz. The fruits of this union are ten children, all of whom are married and well settled in life. Mr. Hughes is a thirty-second degree Mason, and connected with other benevolent and fraternal associations. He was one of the organizers of the Arizona Pioneers' Society, and has always been classed as one of the most enterprising and industrious citizens of the Old Pueblo.

Henry Wickenburg was a native of Austria, born in that empire in 1820. In 1847 he came to New York. He went to San Francisco in 1853, and came to Arizona in 1862. He remained at Fort Yuma for a time, then went up the river to La Paz. At La Paz, he learned that a party of explorers had left there a few days before to go through the country to Tucson. Henry took their trail and overtook them at what is now known as Peeples' Valley, having travelled nearly two hundred miles alone through the

Apache country. After leaving Peeples' Valley, the party travelled east to what is now Walnut Grove, then on to Turkey Creek and Black Canyon. Near Turkey Creek one of the party found some white quartz which had coarse gold in it. His name was Goss. He said nothing of his find to the balance of the party, but the next year he came back, and in company with Timothy Lambertson, worked some on the mine and packed the ore to Walnut Grove and arrastred it. From Black Canyon the exploring company made their way to Tucson. There Henry went to work driving a team for the United States Government. We next find him on a piece of land in Peeples' Valley in 1863, where he learned through King S. Woolsey of the finding of rich ore in the Harquahala Mountains. Henry got Van Bibber, a man named Green, and some others, and started for the place Woolsey had described to him. They went down to the Hassayampa River and there made a start for the long stretch across the desert for the place indicated by Woolsey. They were not sure of any water after leaving the river until they reached the pass in the Harquahala where the gold was said to be, which meant a trip of fifty miles and back with what water they could carry with them. Following the low foothills, the party came in sight of the great white croppings of the Vulture Mine. Wickenburg wished to stop and examine it, but the other members of the party refused. After the party returned from their hunt in the Harquahala Mountains, Wickenberg went back to the big white croppings and discovered the famous Vulture Mine. When Van Bibber

learned of the great strike made by Wickenburg, he at once claimed an interest, which, of course, Henry refused. Then commenced a long struggle in the courts, Coles Bashford handling the Wickenburg side of the case, which was finally settled in Tucson. Wickenburg remained at the mine, where he lived until the spring or summer of 1864, when he managed to get a ton of Vulture ore packed to a camp he had established at the present town of Wickenburg, a very poor excuse for an arrastra being built there by July 4 of that year. At that time C. B. Genung came to Wickenburg's camp with another man, having been driven in from a prospecting trip by Apaches. Genung having had experience in working ore by the arrastra process, undertook to show Wickenburg what he could about the method, and did remodel the arrastra and assist to grind the ton of ore that was on the ground. From this ore they took seventeen and a half ounces of gold. In less than twelve months thereafter there were forty arrastras running on Vulture ore, some with burros, some with horses or mules, and others with oxen, Wickenburg furnishing the ore for most of them, for which he charged fifteen dollars a ton, the buyer mining and sorting the ore himself. During the years 1865 and 1866, there were four mills built within one mile of the present town of Wickenburg—one five stamp mill by Charley Tyson, another of equal size by Jack Swilling, and two others, one a ten stamp mill, and the other a twenty stamp mill. This last mill was run two years, when twenty more stamps were added to it, after which it was run until 1871, or about four years.

James Cusenberry built the twenty stamp mill, (or superintended the building of it) and also added the twenty new stamps; then turned the management over to a man named Sexton, who stole everything that he could during the four years that he kept it running, and was over \$100,000 in debt in Arizona when he had to close down. It is hard to tell how much the Vulture Company owed in California at that time, and it is doubtful if any of the debts were ever paid.

The ten stamp mill owned by William Smith, Fritz Brill, and others, was moved from Wickenburg to a point about thirteen miles lower down the Hassayampa in order to get wood, as the wood had all been consumed near the town. The mill was run until 1878 or 1879, when Smith and Company sold out the claims they held on the Vulture Ledge to James Seymour of New York, who had bought out the old Wickenburg interests. Seymour employed James Cusenberry to superintend the working of the properties, and he moved twenty stamps of the old mill down to a point on the river about eleven miles below and the twenty stamps were run at the place called Seymour for nearly a year, when a man named Shipman was put in charge.

Instead of moving the other twenty stamps to Seymour, he advised building a larger mill at the mine, and pumping the water from the river to it. The result was an eighty stamp mill, and a seventeen mile pump line to it.

The amount taken from the Vulture Mine is variously estimated at from seven to ten millions of dollars. The ore was hauled to Wickenburg, a distance of sixteen miles from the mine,

at a cost of seventeen dollars a ton. Vulture gold passed current throughout the territory at that time having a value of about fifteen dollars an ounce. Henry Wickenburg, after parting with all his interest in the mine, settled at the town which bore his name, having a ranch there up to the time of his death in May, 1905. He was a fine character, honest, straight-forward and industrious, a typical Westerner, quiet, unobtrusive, bold and fearless, and generous to a fault. He was not possessed of much property at the time of his death. He was a member of the Seventh Legislature of the Territory.

Among the most notable of the early pioneers of Arizona, was King S. Woolsey. He was a native of Alabama, but was raised to manhood in Louisiana, from which state he emigrated to California when only eighteen years of age. He came into this territory in 1860 in company with Mr. Benedict of Tucson, and Colonel Jackson, who settled in Yavapai County. When they landed in Yuma, all the money in the party was five dollars, which King Woolsey had. In addition he had a horse, rifle and pistol, and the others were similarly mounted and armed. They had ridden all the way from below San Francisco into the territory. Woolsey's first occupation in Arizona was that of a mule driver; he then became the owner of a mule team and made contracts for the delivery of hay, etc., to the Government. Later he engaged in partnership with George Martin, who afterwards lived at Yuma, and they purchased the Agua Caliente Ranch.

When Albert Sidney Johnson's party came across the territory on their way to join the Confederates, Woolsey joined them, but when they reached Maricopa station, he was taken down with smallpox, and was left behind. He was watched as a Secessionist for some time thereafter, but never took any part in the civil strife. The Texan invasion found him actively engaged in private business.

He had many fights with the Indians, and one of his first is described by J. Ross Browne in his book: "The Apache Country," where, in describing his trip through Arizona in 1863, Mr. Browne tells the story. In travelling between Grinnell's and Oatman Flat, near the old mail station called Burk's, Mr. Allen, Mr. Browne's companion, called his attention to an open space fringed with brushwood and mesquite, where a sharp fight had taken place about two years before between a party consisting of three Americans, one of whom was King Woolsey, and about fifteen or twenty Apaches. Mr. Browne says:

"Mr. Woolsey, who has since become quite famous in Arizona as an Indian fighter, had contracted to supply the Government with hay, and was returning from the grass range with his loaded wagon and two hired hands, entirely unsuspecting of danger. They had one gun with them, which by good luck rather than precaution was charged with buckshot. In emerging from the bushes where the road approaches the point of the sand hill, a terrific yell burst upon them, and in a moment, the Apaches sprung up from their ambush and charged upon them like so many devils incarnate. Woolsey said: 'Hold

the mules boys, and give me the gun!" which they did with great coolness. The Indians wheeled about and dodged, but kept shooting their arrows with such fearful dexterity that Woolsey thought it advisable to give them a load of buckshot. The distance was too great, and no damage was done. At this the savages renewed their diabolical yells; closer and closer they crowded, the brave little band of whites standing coolly by the wagon and mules, ready to sell their lives as dearly as possible. The leader of the Apaches, a warrior of gigantic stature and hideous features rushed forward brandishing his war club, calling upon his men to follow. Woolsey waited until the chief had approached within twenty paces, when he discharged the other barrel of his gun. Down tumbled the yelling savage, with a hole through his head.

"Woolsey and his party determined to make a conspicuous mark of the dead chief, from which marauding Indians might take warning. They dragged the body to the nearest mesquite tree and hung it up by the neck, leaving the feet to dangle about a yard from the ground."

The Indians fled upon the death of the chief, and being superstitious, never approached the place as long as the body was dangling from the tree.

About this time the California Column, commanded by General Carleton, arrived in the Territory, and Woolsey made considerable money furnishing them with supplies. In 1863 he joined the Walker party and with them set out to prospect Northern Arizona, and was one of the discoverers of Lynx Creek; he then asso-

ciated himself with John Dixon, and took up the Agua Fria ranch east of Prescott, after which he returned to his home at the Agua Caliente. A short time after this he opened the first road into the Northern part of Arizona. While constructing this road in the vicinity of Antelope Mountain, considerable stock was stolen from the people of Wickenburg. The Tonto Apaches had been raiding the ranches in Peeples' Valley and along the Verde, and Walnut Grove and other localities south of Prescott. A large band of them drove off all the stock in Peeples' Valley. While en route to Prescott from Agua Caliente, with his wagon train loaded with flour, which he had ground out in a small mill at Agua Caliente, upon arriving at Peeples' Valley, the settlers insisted that he should send his teams on to Prescott and take command of a volunteer company in a raid against the Apaches. There were about sixty white men. Woolsey dispatched couriers to the chiefs of the Maricopas and Pimas, and each of them joined him at the mouth of the Verde, with thirty warriors from each tribe. They took the trail of the Apaches and followed it into Tonto Basin, where the chief of the Pimas, fearing an ambush, decided to go no further, and withdrew his followers, but the chief of the Maricopas, Juan Chiavria, who was a great friend of Woolsey's, stayed with the whites, with his warriors. They followed this canyon for about three miles when they found themselves surrounded by about four hundred of the Apaches. Knowing that unless diplomacy was resorted to, they would all be massacred, King

Woolsey got his interpreter, a Yuma Indian who lived on his ranch and had formerly been captured by the Apaches and had acquired their language, to talk to the hostiles. Jack was the orator for the occasion. He talked long and loud, begging them to come down, and assuring them that they would be kindly treated; that they were not there for war, but to make peace. Jack told them that Juan Chiavria of the Maricopas was present, and he, himself, was the chief of the Yumas, and that the three white men were great American captains who came from Washington to make a treaty with them. After many hours of persuasion, the Apaches concluded that they would come down and have a talk. It was arranged that each party should meet in council without arms; the chief of the Maricopas, Jack, King Woolsey, Joe Dye of Los Angeles, and young Lennon, who was the recorder to write down the treaty. The rest of the white men and the Maricopas were left about sixty or seventy yards away, armed with rifles and shotguns, with the understanding that when the fight commenced, they were to take an active part; those armed with shotguns to come to the relief of Woolsey, and the riflemen to fire upon the Apaches on the hills. In this they were supported by the Maricopas. The white men and the Maricopa chief in the council were each armed with two six shooters under their coats. The Apaches, the big chiefs and the little chiefs, numbering about thirty, were seated in a half circle. One of the big chiefs said that he would not sit on the bare ground, so King Woolsey sent off and got a fine scarlet blanket, and seated

him next to where he himself was standing. The Maricopas had brought a quantity of pinole and tobacco. The pinole was placed on a blanket near by, and the Indians pretended to be smoking the tobacco. After the Apaches were seated and the conference commenced, an Apache Indian entered the council, dragging two lances at his heels; another came with a handful of knives, which were distributed among the hostile savages. Immediately afterward an Indian boy rushed in almost out of breath and told the Apaches that the order from the big chief was for them all to get out of the camp, and they would kill the last one of the whites and the Maricopas. The signal agreed upon by Woolsey and his men for the firing to commence, was for him to put his hand upon his hat. Before the Apaches had time to do anything, Woolsey gave his signal, and, at the same time, shot the Apache chief who was seated upon his blanket. Joe Dye, Young Lennon, the Maricopa chief and Jack did the same, and every bullet found its mark. The shotgun men rushed in and killed every Apache who had come to the council, while those having rifles were picking off the Apaches who were on the hills. After the fight was over, they examined the hills, which were covered with blood, but they found no dead, as it was the invariable custom of the Apaches to carry off their dead and wounded whenever it was practicable for them to do so. Woolsey and his men retraced their steps through the canyon, and not an Indian was in sight. In this fight Woolsey lost only one man. He had warned young Lennon to look out for a lame Apache who had a

lance, but in the excitement young Lennon had forgotten his warning. The Indian ran him through the body with his lance, and Lennon shot the Indian with his revolver almost at the same time, both dying together. The Apaches received such severe punishment that they were good for some time thereafter.

The above account is given me by Mrs. Baxter, the wife of Judge Baxter of Yuma, who was the wife of King Woolsey, and may be considered the true story of what is known as the "Pinole Treaty," or the massacre at Bloody Tanks.

King Woolsey was the hero of many expeditions against the Apaches, particularly during the Civil War when the United States troops were withdrawn from Arizona to New Mexico, leaving the settlers in Arizona to take care of themselves. At one time he was in command of one hundred and ten volunteers. In one of his expeditions he followed up the Salt River to Tonto Basin, and from there through the Sierra Anches, where they had a fight with the Apaches, in which 120 of the Indians were killed. The Apaches were taken by surprise and Woolsey did not lose a man. In the same expedition they came in around where the town of Globe now is, and discovered a wheat field which had been planted by the Indians. They thrashed out all the wheat they wanted, parching it, and making it into pinole. After doing this they turned their horses into the field and destroyed the growing crop, while the squaws on the surrounding hills were bewailing their loss. The

place to this day is known as the "Wheat Fields."

At one time King Woolsey, William Fourr, now living at Dragoon Summit, and Salazar, acted as guides for the Government. Salazar was the Government guide, but not knowing the country, Woolsey and Fourr acted as guides for Colonel McClave in expeditions against the Apaches, who had their rancherias in the vicinity of the Harquahala Mountains. The three guides were in advance of Colonel McClave's company, and when near the water, they discovered three Indians. Each killed his Indian, which prevented any knowledge of the expedition reaching the hostiles. That afternoon the command neared the water and the Indians began shooting. The battle raged all that afternoon and the next morning until about ten o'clock, when the chief of the Indians was killed by either Fourr or Woolsey, who had been shooting at him with their Sharp's rifles for at least a half an hour. After the chief was killed, the Apaches dispersed and allowed the troops to come to the water. These Indians had been plundering the ranches along the Gila, and all the stations ten and twelve miles apart. They drove off from Woolsey's ranch at one time, stock valued at \$10,000, stripping him of everything except eight mules. They robbed Fourr in the same way. Juan Chiavria, Chief of the Maricopas, sought out these Indians, who were just ordinary thieves, but not murderers, and told them that if they attempted to interfere with his friends, the whites, again, he would arm his men, follow into their strongholds, and kill

the last one of them, men, women and children. The Indians were Apache-Mohaves, who had such a wholesome fear of both the Maricopas and the Pimas, that thereafter they did not interfere with the ranchmen on the Gila.

About the year 1866 or 1867, there was a lot of hard cases, bad men, who came into Northern Arizona from Montana. Among the rest was Jeff Standifer, who had the reputation of being a cool, courageous, nervy killer; a dead shot with any firearm. He was a gambler, and, hearing somewhat of King Woolsey being a man of courage, he declared that he would kill him on sight. Men of his character always seek out those who have the reputation of being fighters to try their mettle. As far as my experience in the West goes, this class of men, and I have seen many of them, are like gamecocks on a farm; every one has its master, but in trying to establish their superiority, when they come together it is a duel to the death. Some of Woolsey's friends visited him at his Agua Fria ranch, and told him of the threats which Standifer had made, and advised him not to come to Prescott for a few days. Woolsey said: "I'll think about it." He said he didn't like the idea, however, of a man telling him that he should not go to a place, or tell him that he should not go or come as he pleased; that he was in the habit of doing very much as he wanted to. A few nights afterwards, when everything was in full swing, and this man was at his game, there entered the room King Woolsey. Going up to the bar, he turned his face to the crowd. All was still and quiet. A hush came over everyone

and the whisper passed around: "There's Woolsey!" Standifer heard it, and started with his pistol in his hand towards Woolsey. Woolsey looked at him until he was within about fifteen or twenty feet, when, quicker than lightning, he pulled his six shooter, and had it cocked and levelled at the man's head. Raising his left hand he said: "Halt! another step and you're a dead man." Involuntarily Standifer stopped. Woolsey looked him in the face for a moment, still holding his gun down on him, and said: "There's the door, take it, if ever you cross my path again, I'll kill you." The man went out of the door and never returned.

Woolsey continued to make money; he got into mining, however, and lost about sixty thousand dollars. At the time of his death, he was one of the largest landowners in the Salt River Valley. In spite of all his activities, in hunting Indians, running ranches and mines, he still had time to serve the territory. He was a member of the Legislative Council the first, second, seventh, eighth and ninth Legislatures, and was President of the two last named Councils. He was a candidate for the position of Delegate to Congress in 1878, but was not elected. He was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel of Volunteers, and was an aide upon both the staffs of Governor Goodwin and Governor Safford. In the early part of 1878, in company with John Y. T. Smith and C. W. Stearns, he erected the Phoenix Flour Mills.

He died June 29th, 1879, on his ranch adjoining the city of Phoenix at the age of forty-seven years, and was survived by his widow, who is

now the wife of Judge Frank Baxter of Yuma. The following notice is taken from the Phoenix Herald of July 2nd, 1879:

“King S. Woolsey Crosses the Shining River.  
In the Midst of Life we are in Death.  
Arizona’s most prominent citizen gone to his  
final resting place.

“King S. Woolsey died last Sunday morning about three o’clock at his residence, the Lyle ranch, southeast of Phoenix. The deceased was a large, hale, and hearty man, and his death was very unexpected. He was in town up to a late hour the previous evening, and then certainly gave no indication of the nearness of death. Returning himself after all the farm hands had retired, and not wishing to disturb them, he put up his buggy animals unassisted, and then went to his room.

“The cook, who sleeps outside, saw him enter the house and commence preparing for bed. The cook states that he heard a slight groaning, but as deceased was occasionally troubled with nightmare, he paid no attention to the matter and went to sleep. He was awakened by a prolonged groan, and, jumping up, he rushed to the room and discovered the deceased lying on the floor, partially under the table.

“A messenger was dispatched for help, who shortly returned with Dr. Conyers, but no aid could be rendered—the groan which awakened the cook was, no doubt, the last of King S. Woolsey on this earth. A dispatch was immediately sent to his wife, who was living on the Agua Caliente ranch. She reached here early Mon-

day morning, and the remains were conveyed to their last resting place at nine o'clock that morning. The funeral service was conducted by the Masonic Order, (of which Woolsey was a member), and was the first ever performed in this valley. The funeral was largely attended."

Juan Chiavria, chief of the Maricopas, wept like a child at the loss of his friend, and accompanied by almost all the males of his tribe, attended his funeral.

## CHAPTER XI.

## EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS (Continued).

CAPTAIN THOMAS JONATHAN JEFFORDS—MADE FRIENDS WITH COCHISE—GUIDES GENERAL HOWARD TO COCHISE'S CAMP—ASSISTS HOWARD IN MAKING PEACE WITH COCHISE—MADE INDIAN AGENT—DEATH OF COCHISE—INDIANS KILL ROGERS AND SPENCE, WHO HAD SOLD LIQUOR TO THEM—DEATH OF JEFFORDS—CHARLES H. MEYER—OWNED FIRST DRUGSTORE IN TUCSON—CITY RECORDER—KEPT TUCSON AN ORDERLY CITY—MEYER STREET, TUCSON, NAMED AFTER HIM—A. F. BANTA—GOVERNMENT GUIDE—MEMBER OF TENTH TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE—DISTRICT ATTORNEY, APACHE COUNTY—PROBATE JUDGE, APACHE COUNTY—NEWSPAPER MAN—PROSPECTOR—WALKER PARTY—CAPTAIN JOSEPH R. WALKER—PERSONNEL OF COMPANY—ENLIST UNDER "KIT" CARSON TO FIGHT INDIANS—SECOND EXPEDITION—PERSONNEL—SUSPECTED OF TRYING TO EFFECT JUNCTION WITH CONFEDERATES—ESTABLISHED SETTLEMENT NEAR PRESENT TOWN OF PRESCOTT—TRIP TO PIMA VILLAGES—DISCOVERY OF LYNX CREEK DISTRICT—ORGANIZATION OF MINING DISTRICT—VISITED BY PART OF CALIFORNIA COLUMN—PEEPLES' PARTY—GUIDED BY PAULINE WEAVER—DISCOVERY OF RICH HILL—DISSOLUTION OF WALKER PARTY—DANIEL E. CON-

NER LAST SURVIVOR—OTHER PARTIES—  
MILITARY DISTRICTS—FORT WHIPPLE Es-  
TABLISHED.

Captain Thomas Jonathan Jeffords was born in Chautauqua County, New York, in 1832. He laid out the road from Leavenworth, Kansas, to Denver, in 1858. In the fall of 1859 he came to Taos, New Mexico, and wintered in Taos. The following spring he went into the San Juan mountains to prospect and mine. In 1862 he carried dispatches from Fort Thorn to General Carleton at Tucson. At that time, he was on the payroll of the United States Government as a scout, and piloted the advance companies of the California Column into New Mexico, to old Fort Thorn near the Rio Grande near Las Cruces. He is said to have taken part in the battle of Val Verde and the other engagements which resulted in the expulsion of the Confederates from New Mexico.

In 1867 Captain Jeffords made the personal acquaintance of Cochise, who had been very active against all Americans and Mexicans. Of this meeting, Captain Jeffords said: "He had killed twenty-one men to my knowledge, fourteen of whom were in my employ. I made up my mind that I wanted to see him. I located one of his Indians and a camp where he came personally. In the meantime, I had acquired a smattering knowledge of the Indian language, having been an Indian trader under a commission from Mr. Parker, Secretary of the Interior. Having been advised that Cochise would be at a certain place at a certain time, I went into his camp alone, fully armed. After meet-

THOMAS JONATHAN DEPORDS





ing him, I told him that I was there to talk with him personally, and that I wished to leave my arms in his possession or in the possession of one of his wives whom he had with him, to be returned to me when I was ready to leave, which would probably be a couple of days. Cochise seemed to be surprised, but finally consented to my proposition, took possession of my arms and I spent two or three days with him, discussing affairs, and sizing him up. I found him to be a man of great natural ability, a splendid specimen of physical manhood, standing about six feet two, with an eye like an eagle. This was the commencement of my friendship with Cochise, and although I was frequently compelled to guide troops against him and his band, it never interfered with our friendship. He respected me and I respected him. He was a man who scorned a liar, was always truthful in all things, his religion was truth and loyalty. My name with Cochise was Chickasaw, or Brother, and among his tribe I was known as Tyazalaton, which means 'Sandy Whiskers.' The following will illustrate a point in Cochise's character: He said to me once, 'Chickasaw, a man should never lie!' I replied: 'No, he should not, but a great many do.' He said: 'That is true, but they need not do it; if a man asks you or I a question we do not wish to answer, we could simply say: I don't want to talk about that.'

"I learned from Cochise, and I think his story bears me out, that up to about the year 1859 when he was betrayed by Lieutenant Bascom, he had always been very friendly to the whites, but since that time he had done them all the harm he could."

In 1870 General Howard was sent out by the Department in Washington as Indian Commissioner. During that year he took several Indian Chiefs to Washington, and returned in 1871. Cochise's band was still on the warpath, and all white men gave him a wide berth, fearing to enter his camp. Howard was anxious to interview him and see if some terms could not be made by which he would be induced to go on the reservation and quit his murdering and robbery of inoffensive citizens.

At that time Captain Jeffords was acting as a scout for Captain Farnsworth in hunting down these Indians, and was away from Tularosa, which was his headquarters, on a scouting trip with Farnsworth. General Howard made the acquaintance of a man by the name of Milligan, and told him what he wanted. Milligan told him there was but one man who could conduct him into Cochise's camp; that he was the only white man who had ever gone into his camp and returned, and that man was Captain Jeffords. Upon Jeffords' return from the scout, General Howard was at Tularosa, and sent for him, telling him what he wanted to do. Jeffords told him that he could take him to Cochise's camp in seven days but in order to do so he, as general of the army, would have to be under the control and direction of him, Jeffords; that he would guarantee his safe return, but that he would have to go in alone with him, and do as he said. Howard consented to the terms, but some of his officers protested, saying that he would never get out alive and insisted that he should go with a strong military escort. Jeffords said: "To me it

is immaterial whether you go or not, but if you are going out there with a lot of soldiers, you will need more than 250. If you go with me alone I can take you to his camp, and we can have this interview, and I think you can make peace with him by giving him a reservation in his own country.” After considering the matter, Howard told Jeffords in the presence of his officers that he was going, and that Jeffords would be in command of the expedition. Jeffords, telling the story, said: “I always had a great respect for General Howard after that. Before this time I was prejudiced against him on account of his well known humanitarian ideas, and, to my mind, posing as a Christian soldier. I saw then that he was not only a brave man, and fearless as far as his person was concerned, but was really in earnest about trying to stop the destructive war which Cochise was waging upon my countrymen.”

Jeffords immediately set himself to work to locate Cochise. He left Howard’s camp that night, and found one of the Indians twenty miles away by the name of Chee, and brought him back to the post. This Chee was a son of Mangus Colorado but had been brought up by Cochise. Jeffords then went in another direction, and brought in another Indian, Ponce, a son-in-law of Mangus. He arranged with these Indians to take him and General Howard to Cochise’s camp. To perfect all of these arrangements took several days. Jeffords continues: “Finally we started for Cochise’s camp from Fort Bayard, New Mexico. General Howard had requested

me to allow him to take his aide-de-camp, Captain Slayden, with him, which request was granted. I took charge of the expedition, and landed General Howard in Cochise's camp in seven days as had been agreed."

Targash, which means 'Gamecock,' was the sub-chief. Five or six Indians and from fifteen to sixteen squaws and children were in the camp. The General and the Captain stayed overnight. The next morning the General said to Captain Jeffords: "Hadn't we better be going?" Jeffords said: "Where?" The General said: "Why, to hunt Cochise." Jeffords answered: "He will be here in about fifteen or twenty minutes. He will come on horseback, and will have behind him the ugliest Indian you ever saw, by the name of Teese, bearing a lance. Jeffords and his Indians had been signalling all the way out, using smoke, the usual method of telegraphing among Indians. Cochise made his appearance in about fifteen minutes, as Jeffords had said. He looked around, and then embraced Jeffords according to the Mexican and Indian custom. He was introduced to General Howard and Captain Slayden. After a few minutes conversation, Cochise asked Jeffords how long he had known these people. Jeffords said about thirty days. "Will they do as they say they will?" Jeffords replied: "Well, I don't know; I think they will, but I will see that they do not promise too much." During the trip Jeffords had cautioned Howard against making too great promises, because Indians were very exact, and the slightest violation of any promise made would queer them all the way through. Cochise

studied a while and said: "I am going to send him to Bowie and see how much of a friend of the Indian he is." He said to Howard: "My people are out making a living. If they come across any whites, they will kill them, and it may be that some of my people will be killed. If my people are killed, I will take care of them, and if my people kill any whites I don't want to be held accountable for it, for they are out making a living. I want you to go to Bowie to-night." The General said to Captain Jeffords: "I am very tired and I don't know how to get there." Jeffords replied: "The Indians will show you a new route, and you can make a sulphur spring, about twelve miles from here tonight, sleep there, and go to Bowie tomorrow, and return in about three days." Howard did as requested and returned in three days.

In the meantime some of Cochise's Indians came in and reported that they had killed five whites. Cochise said: "I do not think the troops can follow the trail of my Indians, but if they do, they will be in here to-night, and we will have a fight." Jeffords explained to Slayden the condition of affairs, and told him if the troops followed the trail and fought with the Indians, they would be beaten. He told him that if he wanted to leave, he had better go right away, and an Indian would conduct him to General Howard. Slayden said: "What are you going to do?" Jeffords answered: "I am going to stay here, but you are an officer of the army, and it might complicate matters if the soldiers found you here." Slayden studied for a while, and said: "If you are going to stay, I will stay too."

Cochise moved his camp up among the rocks, and the Indians made a nice bed for Slayden and Jeffords. It was all planned by Cochise that if the soldiers came in upon them, the women and children would be taken out of the camp beyond possible danger. The braves, in the meantime, were placed in position to resist any attack. When General Howard returned, he looked over Cochise's defensive arrangement, and said that no general in the Army of the United States could have made a better disposition of his men to resist an attack from a superior force. Consultations then began in reference to peace. The sub-chiefs came in from all over Cochise's stamping grounds. After a few days, they had a general powwow. General Howard wished to attend, but Captain Jeffords said: "No, we will stay here. They will let us know whether they want to make peace or not." By and by, through certain noises in their camp, Jeffords knew that it was all right, and that the council had decided for peace, and so told the General. Cochise then came up and informed the General that they were ready to make terms of peace. The terms were that they should have a reservation in the Sulphur Spring Valley within the boundaries of Stein's Pass Mountains, Chiricahua Mountains, and the Dragoon Mountains, and that Captain Jeffords should be the Indian Agent. Jeffords said he did not wish the position; that the Government owed him \$3,000 which he would forfeit if he accepted the position of Indian Agent, and, besides, he did not wish to be mixed up in it. If he was agent he

would be called upon for political assessments every time a president was to be elected, or a delegate in his territory elected; that he was an old time Democrat, and did not feel like assisting any Republican in any position. Howard replied: "I will tell General Grant about it and I think it would be better. In the meantime, Captain, I cannot make peace unless you consent to act as Indian Agent." Jeffords considered the matter, and being anxious to stop a war which was killing off so many of his friends, finally consented, with the understanding that he was to be absolute boss upon the reservation, admitting no one on the reservation unless with his consent, and taking absolute control and authority over the Indians. This authority was given him by the President. Thereafter no soldier or civilian, or official of any kind came upon the reservation without Jefford's consent, and for the four years that he was Indian Agent, there was never any trouble with the Chiricahua Apaches. The White Mountain Indians sent several delegations into the reservation to get assistance from Cochise's Indians, but never received it. Further, all the horses and other stock in the hands of Cochise at the time this treaty was made, were restored to the owners. There was trouble with the White Mountain Indians at times, but Cochise sat always at the right hand of Jeffords, and enforced whatever order he made, with the result as above stated. It was charged that these Chiricahua Indians went upon different raids into Mexico, and that a part of the treaty made with Howard was that they should have that privilege, all of which was untrue.

During the time that Jeffords was agent, Cochise died upon the reservation. It can be said that every promise which he made to Howard was religiously kept as long as he lived, and he advised his Indians never to go on the warpath against the whites again.

In the last sickness of Cochise, Jeffords was with him and gave him the best medical attention to be had, but was called away from Cochise's wickiup to issue rations to the Indians. Before leaving, however, Cochise told Jeffords that when he died, he wanted him to take care of his particular tribe, which numbered about three hundred and twenty, and keep a supervision over them. Jeffords said: "I am only one, and they are over three hundred, and they won't do what I ask them to do unless they want to." Cochise said: "We will fix that." He called in the head chiefs of his particular division, and then and there selected his oldest son as his successor, and they agreed with Cochise that they would do whatever Jeffords wanted them to do. On the removal of the Chiricahua Indians to the San Carlos Reservation, Jeffords took charge of this branch of the tribe, and it was the only band that went voluntarily to the San Carlos. Jeffords then left to issue rations to the rest of the Indians. In saying good-bye, Cochise said: "Chickasaw, do you think you will ever see me alive again?" Jeffords replied: "I do not know; I don't think I will, for you have been failing very rapidly in the last three days, and I think that by tomorrow night you will be dead." Cochise said: "I think so too, about tomorrow morning, at ten o'clock, I will pass out, but do you think we will ever meet

again?" Jeffords replied: "I don't know. What do you think about it?" "Well," said Cochise, "I have been giving it a good deal of thought since I have been sick here, and I think we will." "Where?" asked Jeffords. "I don't know, somewhere up yonder," pointing to the skies. He died the next morning as he said he would, from inflammation of the bowels. He never feared death, but rather courted it.

While Slayden was in the camp, Jeffords asked Cochise if they could not have some fresh meat. "Well," Cochise said, "what I can give you is good enough for you and I, but I don't know about the other fellow." "All right," said Jeffords, "you have it cooked up, and I will vouch for him." So they had meat boiled in large quantities set before them, and Slayden ate like a pig. After the meal was over, Jeffords asked him how he liked the meat. "I never tasted anything so good in my life. I ate three portions of it, and would have called for more had I not been ashamed to. What kind of meat was it, elk?" Jeffords said: "Well, you saw them kill that colt over there. That was horse meat." Slayden answered: "Well, if I had known it, I suppose I wouldn't have touched it, but I still say it was the best meat I ever tasted."

During Captain Jefford's administration there was only one outbreak, if indeed it can be so characterized. "Rogers and Spence were living by permission of the Government and myself, as agent, at Sulphur Springs. They were instructed by me not to keep any whiskey or liquors, and above all not to let the Indians have

any because if they did, in one of their drunken sprees, they will murder you, and I will be obliged to order you off the reservation, which I do not wish to do. This was understood between us. Two Indians, Pioncenay and Piarhel went down to their camp, and Rogers and Spence sold them whiskey at \$10.00 per bottle. The Indians became drunk, and in a fit of intoxication, killed both white men, when they would not sell them more liquor. I received the news at ten o'clock at night, they having been killed that morning about an hour after sunrise. I immediately went to Major McClelland, who was in charge of the military forces, and informed him of this murder, and told him that I wanted him to send an officer with me to Rogers and Spence's camp the next morning. He sent Lieutenant Hendley with twenty-eight soldiers. We went to the camp. I knocked open the head of a keg of whiskey, and in the bottom found several plugs of tobacco cut up, and a lot of chile, a decoction that would make any man crazy. The next thing was to capture the Indians who committed the murder. I was informed by my Indians where they were, but a brother of one of the Indians had a few of his followers with him, and their efforts were to get the murderers away into Sonora, which they succeeded in doing. The two Indians returned to the reservation in about twenty days, from Sonora, and I was informed of it. I called up Tarjay, the son of Cochise, and the head chief of the Chiricahua Apaches, and told him that I wanted those Indians. My object was to take them and send them to Tucson for trial by the civil authorities.

Nacheis, the youngest son of Cochise, urged me to let him deal with Esquinay, the war chief of the Chiricahuas, who was Nacheis' father-in-law, and who was protecting these two Indians. After some debate, I consented, and when resistance was made, Nacheis killed his father-in-law, and three or four Indians, when I had told them that they were prisoners, and they attempted to resist, the fight commencing, and Nacheis killing his father-in-law, as above stated, and four others. Pioncenay was shot through the lungs. This ended the trouble. Clum, who was my successor, turned him over to Charlie Shibell, Sheriff of Pima County, and the Indian escaped."

During all the time that Jeffords was in control of the Indians, he had their confidence and could induce them to do almost anything that he desired. He saw that they were protected at all times as far as possible in their rights, and dealt with them humanely, justly and friendly, thus commanding their respect and confidence. When his successor was appointed, his accounts were audited in Washington, and his bondsmen were released within three months, something unheard of in the history of the administration of Indian affairs in Arizona. Most of the Indian agents were under bond for \$10,000. Jeffords was under bond for \$50,000. He made all his reports to the Interior Department direct, and had, as before stated, the entire control of the reservation given to him by President Grant.

Captain Jeffords was superintendent of the mail from Mesilla to Tucson, in 1866-67, during which time a number of his men were killed

by Cochise's band, which led Jeffords to hunt up Cochise in person, as stated above.

The later years of Captain Jeffords' life were spent at Owl's Head, a mining camp in Pinal County, about fifteen miles from Red Rock Station, on the Southern Pacific, where he was interested in some mining property. He died on February 19th, 1914, and was buried in Tucson.

Charles H. Meyer was a German, and settled in Tucson in 1854. From 1875 he served several times as City Recorder. His court was unique; every man, when first brought before him for any misdemeanor, he would treat leniently, sometimes giving him a lecture, but for the second offense, he usually imposed a heavy fine, and in addition, would send the offender to the chain gang. If the prisoner demurred to the sentence, the judge would generally double the time on the chain gang, saying: "Vell, I gifs you thirty days more on the chain gang for contempt of de court." By this method he kept Tucson an orderly city during his terms in office. He had the first drug store in Tucson, which he conducted for many years. One of the principal streets of the city, Meyer Street, is named for him. He died in Tucson September 7th, 1903, having been a resident of that town for forty-seven years.

A. F. Banta was born in Indiana in 1846, and came to the Territory in 1863. He was one of the chief Government guides and scouts, with headquarters at Fort Whipple, from 1865 to 1871. He was a member of the 10th Legislature, and introduced and passed a bill organizing the county of Apache, of which he became District



CHARLES H. MEYER.



Attorney, holding the office two terms, 1879-80 and 1889-90. He was Probate Judge of the same county in 1881-82; a member of the Legislature in 1883-84; Justice of the Peace at St. John in 1876; at Springerville in 1877-78, and County Assessor in 1880. He was the chief guide of the Wheeler Exploration Expedition, and also the 100th Meridian Expedition in 1873. He served as United States Marshal and Deputy Sheriff in the 80's. He was the first postmaster at Springerville during President Hayes' administration. At various times he has been an editor. His last adventure of this kind was editing the "Observer" at St. Johns, Apache County. His personal adventures would fill a volume. In the enjoyment of all his faculties, and in perfect health for one of his age, he is still scouring the country and prospecting. The writer saw him a few weeks ago when he was organizing an expedition to find what is known as the "Lost Dutchman Mine."

Up to 1862, beyond the explorations made by Lieutenant Beale, Felix Aubrey, and others, along the Beale road, nothing was known of Central Arizona, its mines, its forests, and its agricultural possibilities. It was the home of the Apache, the most treacherous and dangerous of all the Indian tribes. The first expedition to explore this section of the country was known as the "Walker Party." Captain Joseph R. Walker, who commanded the expedition, was an old hunter and trapper. In 1837, and 1838, in company with Jack Ralston, who later died, he discovered in this part of the country a metal which, years afterwards when visiting San

Francisco, he found to be gold. In 1861, Walker desiring to explore this country for the yellow metal, organized in Kernville, Kern County, California, a company for that purpose. The following are the names of the members of that company; Captain Joseph R. Walker, Joseph R. Walker, Jr., John Walker, John H. Dickson, George Lount, George Cutler, —— Tarsith, —— Clothier, John I. Miller, J. L. Miller, Samuel C. Miller, George Blasser, Col. Harding, Phelix Buxton, Albert Dunn, Martin Lewis, Jacob Lynn and Luther Paine. Their objective point was the country in and around Prescott and the Little Colorado. After crossing the Colorado, they were continually harassed by Indians, which prevented them from exploring the country to the south as they had intended. The San Francisco Mountain was their landmark and passing around its base, they followed up the Little Colorado, but failing to find gold, they pursued their journey eastward, and reached New Mexico that same year. Upon reaching New Mexico, the party maintained its existence and enlisted under "Kit" Carson against the Indians. Captain Walker retained his rank and the original number of fighting men under him. In 1862, the party went to Colorado, and in the Fall of that year, another expedition was set on foot with the Hassayampa as the objective point. Thirty-four hardy and intrepid men signed the muster-roll, with a full determination to blaze the trail for others to follow. The names and nativity of the men composing this expedition are as follows:

Captain Joseph R. Walker, Tennessee; Joseph R. Walker, Jr., Tennessee; Martin Lewis, Missouri; Jacob Lynn, Missouri; Charles Noble, Missouri; Henry Miller, Missouri; Thomas Johnson, Missouri; George Blasser, Pennsylvania; Alfred Shupp, Pennsylvania; John J. Miller, North Carolina; Jacob Miller, Illinois; Sam. C. Miller, Illinois; Solomon Shoup, Illinois; Hiram Cummings, New Hampshire; Hiram Mealman, New Hampshire; Wm. Wheelhouse, New York; George Coulter, New York; John "Bull," England; George Lount, Canada; Rhoderic McKinney, Canada; Bill Williams, Massachusetts; A. C. Benedict, Connecticut; A. French, Vermont; Jacob Schneider, Germany; John Dixon, Mississippi; Frank Finney, Louisiana; John Young, Kansas; Jackson McCracken, South Carolina; John W. Swilling, Georgia; — Chase, Ohio; Felix Buxton, France; Chas. Taylor, Sailor; F. G. Gilliland, Kentucky; Daniel E. Conner, Kentucky.

In September, 1862, the company left Pueblo, Colorado, and being regarded with some suspicion, the authorities thinking they might be seeking to effect a junction with the Confederates, General Carleton employed A. C. Benedict to accompany the expedition for the purpose of watching its movements and reporting the same. The party went south to what afterwards became known as Fort West, and stopped a short time, at that place, during the Winter of 1862-63, where Jack Swilling and Jackson McCracken joined them. Jack Swilling, as we have seen, had served under Captain Hunter when the Confederates captured Tucson, and

commanded the little detachment that killed Lieutenant Barrett of the Federal army, in the engagement near the Picacho. While at Fort West, the party served the Government under the command of Captain McCleve. Leaving this place, they followed the old Butterfield trail for some distance but branched off from it to explore the unknown wilderness in the north, from one hundred and fifty miles to two hundred miles distant.

This was the first invasion of Arizona by any organized body of white men, and was the beginning of the end of Apache dominion in that section of the Territory of Arizona. Crossing the great Gila Desert from Sacaton Station, now known as Oatman Flat, on the River Gila below the Pima Indian Villages, the Walker party reached the wooded territory in and around Prescott, and there made a final stand for a new base of operations. They felled the trees and built a corral in a hollow square that the savages could not break through, in which their sixty head of mules were kept during the night. For nearly a year previously, six men were required to guard the stock constantly, day and night; it only required one man to guard the corral. This change, inaugurated by Captain Walker, was very satisfactory, but the party were here stored away, or rather, secreted in a nook in the wilderness, unknown to any of their race, and it became necessary to notify the outside world where they were located, so it was decided to make a flying trip to the Pima Villages on the River Gila. A hole was dug into which all their supplies and equipage was cached, and the party went south

with their mules to get a full supply of pinole and other foodstuffs from the friendly Pimas, with whom they left letters to go eastwardly and westwardly by any stray party of soldiers that might pass through the Villages during the next six months. These letters described the locality and situation in the previously unknown woodland, in which the party had decided to make their final stand. The return trip was made without accident, the party arriving at their new home after an absence of twenty days. Preparing to do business with the Apaches, they strengthened their corral, and constructed a large log cabin, or fort, beside it for protection against their Apache foes, and for shelter from the storms, as the rainy season had begun in earnest. This corral and log cabin were built on the Hassayampa about five miles from the present location of the city of Prescott. From this point, parties went out in all directions prospecting. Early in May, 1863, Sam Miller and four others went up Lynx Creek. Here while some of the party went hunting, Miller went over to a bank nearby, and washed a pan of dirt, from which he got \$4.80. Word was sent to the main camp on the Hassayampa of the rich find. The party broke camp and moved on to Lynx Creek, where they worked successfully in placer mining and trapping.

A miner's meeting was organized, and Thomas Johnson was selected for president, after Captain Walker had declined, and William Wheelhouse for recorder. This was the first mining district ever organized in Central Arizona, and it was located about five miles south of the pres-

ent city of Prescott on the north bank of the Hassayampa, and these were the first white men to locate in this part of the country, and with the abundance of gold they washed out, and the number of Indians they killed, they experienced, says Mr. Fish, what some termed "booming times." From this encampment, the party explored the surrounding country as far east as the Agua Fria, and north or northwesterly to the Chino Valley on the Verde River, and Bill Williams' Fork, Bill Williams' Mountain, and other localities. Only one trip was made to Bill Williams' Mountain, north of the corral, as it was a stronghold of the Apaches, and the party venturing into it had two of its members wounded. From the signal smoke, and occasional contact with Indian pickets, the party was convinced that the savages were increasing their number by orderly concentration, and that at any time they were caught off guard, the whole party would be massacred. About six months had elapsed when they were surprised by the sudden appearance of a company of soldiers under the command of Captain M. J. Pishon and accompanied by Surveyor-General Clark of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The soldiers came over the old Beale road, and passed through the pretty woodland to its south edge, discovered the recently abandoned corral, passed out of the headwaters of the Hassayampa to Lynx Creek and found the party in temporary encampment there. There they remained for about three days, and when they started on their return, they abandoned five covered wagons in the northern plain, which were subsequently utilized to transport provisions from Los An-

Angeles, California, to Prescott. General Clark stated that he had been searching for this locality for three months before finding the party. The route which he had travelled was estimated by the military to have been about five hundred and twenty-five miles from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to Prescott, Arizona.

The next party to enter this new region came in response to the letters left with the Pimas, and consisted of what was known as the "Peeples' Party." This party was organized by A. H. Peeples in May, 1863, and entered Arizona from California, by way of Yuma, where they met Pauline Weaver, who had come by appointment, Peeples having written him from California. The party, with Weaver as guide, followed up the Colorado River to La Paz, where the Mexicans had been placer mining for some time. They went east across the Plomosa Range and up the Cullen Valley. On nearing the mountains, some antelope were discovered, and Peeples followed them and succeeded in killing five. From this he named the stream Antelope Creek, and the mountain which rose from its northern bank, Antelope Peak. The party camped nearby, and before sundown had panned out some gold, on what they named Weaver Creek, in honor of the guide. The next day, four Mexicans, who had joined the party at Yuma, started off after their horses which had strayed during the night. In the evening, they came in with their stock, and, taking Peeples aside, exhibited a large quantity of gold nuggets which they had picked up on top of the mountain. They could have kept the secret to them-

selves, but they gathered a large amount of gold and then rode safely into Mexico. The next morning, the party went to the top of the hill where innumerable chunks and nuggets of gold were found in a sort of sloping basin. In about a month, all the surface gold was gathered and the party scattered, some remaining to work the gravel bars of Weaver Creek. It is estimated that during the first month a quarter of a million dollars in gold was gathered. The mountain was named Rich Hill, and has yielded many thousands of dollars since that time.

From this period, newcomers came from all directions, settling down with the Walker pioneers, in and around what afterwards became Prescott. The Walker party was dissolved in 1864, and some of its members afterwards became identified with the early history of the Territory of Arizona.

The history of this expedition has been written by Daniel E. Conner, the last survivor of the party, and I hope the State of Arizona will secure it, as it gives a succinct and continuous narrative of the expedition of the Walker party, which was the first to enter Central Arizona, the vanguard of that army of pioneers which subsequently reclaimed this rich and fertile country from savage dominion. The success of these pioneers is largely to be attributed to Captain Walker; he understood the Indian character well, and while his policy toward them was never brutal, but humane, yet he was always ready to meet them in battle, when such a policy was necessary and could not be avoided. Patient and prudent, conservative, and cautious, enjoying the

full confidence of his followers, the campaign, in every way, was a successful one.

The reports spread by the members of the command of Captain Pishon upon their return, of the rich gold mines in the vicinity of the Hassayampa, and Lynx Creek, and around the head-waters of the streams in that vicinity, did much to attract attention to that region. Several parties were hurriedly organized to prospect in the new El Dorado. Jim Shelby, of Santa Fe, fitted out five teams loaded with provisions, groceries, etc., and left Santa Fe for the gold fields in October, 1863. There were with him Frank Shaffer, Louis St. James, Billy Foster, Frank Riggs, John Justice, Tom Barnum and others. In a short time there was a second party on the way, which consisted of Rufus E. Farrington, W. C. Collins, Lew Alters, Ed. G. Peck, and Lon Thrift.

Among these early pioneers may be mentioned T. Lambertson, who was one of the first settlers in Walnut Grove; Gus Swain also an early settler at the same place; Theo. Boggs, who staked out a home on Big Bug, in 1863; John Townsend, who located a ranch on the Agua Fria in 1863. Townsend was a half blood Cherokee, cunning and brave, and had an undying hatred of the Indians and hunted them to the death. Several of his relatives had been killed by the Comanches in Texas and it is said that in revenge he had sent twenty-seven Indians to their happy hunting grounds, but, like many others in Arizona, the Indians got him at last. While out hunting in the year 1873, he came upon a small band of Indians at Dripping Springs, and was shot by

one of them. His body was found a few days later. He had exchanged a few shots with the Indians, and had received his death wound unknown to them.

In January, 1863, the military District of Western Arizona, which, up to that time, had belonged to the Department of the Pacific, was attached to the Department of New Mexico, and, by order of General Carleton, issued in October, 1863, all of the Territory of Arizona, lying north of the Gila River, and west of the Colorado, except that portion occupied by Fort Mohave, was created into a Military District. General Carleton decided to establish a post in the Chino Valley and two companies of troops were ordered to accomplish this work. Captains Hargraves and Benson were selected, and the expedition was put under the immediate command of Major Willis of the First Regiment of Infantry, California Volunteers. This expedition, with Captain Pishon as guide, left Fort Wingate on November 7th, 1863, following the old Beale route to Antelope Springs where they diverged. After leaving the Beale trail, they found the road extremely rough and many of their wagons were broken. The main portion of the command reached Chino Valley on December 23rd, and here was located Fort Whipple, so named in honor of Brigadier-General A. W. Whipple, who fell in the battle of Chancellorsville, and who, as a lieutenant of the U. S. Topographical Engineers, had, before the Civil War, explored New Mexico and Arizona. This location was about twenty-two miles from the present town of Prescott, and in May, 1864, the location was changed and the present post established.

## CHAPTER XII.

EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS (Continued).

J. W. (JACK) SWILLING—LIEUTENANT IN CONFEDERATE ARMY—MEMBER OF WALKER PARTY—DISCOVERS RICH HILL—BUILT FIRST CANAL FROM SALT RIVER—THE TOWN DITCH—ONE OF FOUNDERS OF PHOENIX—BUILT TEMPE CANAL—DISCOVERS OTHER MINES—ACCUSED OF HOLDING UP WICKENBURG STAGE—ARRESTED AND CONFINED IN YUMA PRISON—DIES IN PRISON—HIS STATEMENT—SAMUEL C. MILLER—MEMBER OF WALKER PARTY—KILLS WAUBA YUBA, HUALAPAI CHIEF—BECOMES RANCHER—EDWARD G. PECK—SECURES HAY CONTRACT AT FORT WHIPPLE—MEMBER OF EXPEDITION UNDER KING WOOLSEY—GUIDE AND SCOUT FOR MILITARY—DISCOVERS PECK MINE—JACKSON McCACKEN—CLEANED UP FOR THE LEGISLATURE—DISCOVERS McCACKEN MINE—GOES TO CALIFORNIA AND LIVES ON PROCEEDS OF SALE OF MINE—JOHN T. ALSAP—FOLLOWED MINING AND PROSPECTING—ACCOMPANIES KING WOOLSEY ON EXPEDITION AGAINST APACHES—FIRST TERRITORIAL TREASURER—MEMBER OF TERRITORIAL LEGISLATURE THREE TIMES—PROBATE JUDGE OF MARICOPA COUNTY—DISTRICT ATTORNEY OF MARICOPA COUNTY.

J. W. Swilling, known as "Jack Swilling," was born in the state of Georgia in 1831. He emigrated to Missouri in early life, and there

settled down. After having resided in that state some four years, his wife died, leaving one child, a girl, who afterwards married and lived in Missouri.

About the year 1857, Swilling emigrated to Texas where he remained for two years, when he came to Arizona, and was in the employ of the Overland Mail Company for quite a length of time.

During the Rebellion, Swilling was a lieutenant in Captain Hunter's company of volunteers in Baylor's regiment, and occupied himself with thirty of his men, in protecting settlers and others from the Indians along the Rio Grande in Southern New Mexico, and along the road to Tucson, Arizona. When the Confederates were driven out of New Mexico, Mr. Swilling remained in Arizona, and a few months afterwards, was carrying the express for the soldiers and acting as guide for them through the country. The following winter, he joined the Walker Party.

He was one of the party that accompanied Colonel Jack Sniveley, a veteran of the Texas War of Independence, and General Houston's private secretary, in a prospecting trip when the mines of Pinos Altos were discovered, and Swilling, it is said, was at the head of the party that discovered Rich Hill, near Weaver Creek, in the lower part of Yavapai County, in the year 1863. Be this as it may, Jack Swilling accumulated quite a fortune, either from these placers or others.

In 1867, Swilling organized a company and built the first canal from the Salt River, now

known as the "Town Ditch" which was intended to reclaim four thousand acres of land. This canal was completed in 1868, all the lands under it were located by settlers during the following two years, and quite a settlement was made in what is now the city of Phoenix. This name was given to the new settlement by Swilling, at the suggestion of Darrell Dupper, who explained to him that the name "Phoenix" was given in old mythology to a bird which rose from its ashes more beautiful and stronger than ever, and that here were the remains of an extinct civilization, long past, upon whose ashes would rise a modern civilization, stronger and more beautiful than that which preceded it.

In 1871, Swilling organized a company which built the Tempe Canal. Shortly after this, he moved to the Black Canyon and located a farm, and improved it. In the meantime, he had married a second time, and moved his family to his new home. During his residence at this place, the Tip-Top, the Swilling and other mines were discovered and the town of Gillett started up three miles from Swilling's residence, when he again moved, this time to Gillett, having located valuable property there.

Swilling was known as a kind hearted, generous man, public spirited, and always ready to assist any needy man, or any public enterprise. He went on periodical sprees, however, in which he drank heavily and also used drugs. The year preceding his death, he was drinking heavily, and, while on one of these jamborees, in April, 1878, his wife formed a plan to get him out of town and sober him up. She secured the ser-

vices of George Munroe and Andrew Kirby to join Swilling and go into the White Picacho Mountains, and exhume the bones of his old friend, Colonel Sniveley from the place of their burial seven years previously, Sniveley having been murdered there by the Apaches while on a prospecting trip, and to bring the remains to Gillett for burial. The party went out, accomplished the object for which they went, and, during this time, the stage was held up near Wickenburg, and plundered. When the news reached Gillett that three men had stopped the mail coach, and that one large man and one small man had done the job, Swilling, in a jocular way, remarked to George Monroe: "George, that fits us, one big man and one little man," whereupon he and Munroe were arrested and taken to Prescott. Rush & Wells, were their attorneys. They had an examination before Judge Carter, and their discharge was ordered, but before they were released, the marshal found that the robbery was committed in Maricopa County, and took them from the Prescott jail to Yuma for safekeeping, and to await their examination. Evidence was secured for the prosecution of a kind intended to convict regardless of justice. The examination was somewhat of a persecution; the depositions for the defense, taken by stipulation with the United States Attorney, were ruled out, and the prisoners were held in \$3,000 bail, which was about to be furnished, when the sad news reached his family and friends, of Swilling's death, although innocent, within the walls of Yuma Prison. He left a wife and five children, besides numerous friends to mourn

his death. He died on the 12th day of August, 1878, at the age of 47 years. Munroe was discharged, no indictment ever having been found against him.

The Prescott Miner, under date of September 13th, 1878, contains the following:

“Jack Swilling’s Statement.

“Mr. Swilling, who died at Yuma, August 12th, 1878, it seems had a presentiment that his days on earth were done, and were to end within the walls of Yuma Prison and was, therefore, incited to write the following statement for publication, which we give verbatim et literatim:

“Yuma Prison, 1878.

“To the public:

Jack Swilling, whose doors have always been open to the poor alike with those of the rich and plenty, looks forth from the prison cell to the blue heavens where reigns the Supreme Being who will judge of my innocence of the crime which has been brought against me by adventurers and unprincipled reward hunters. I have no remorse of conscience for anything I have ever done while in my sane mind. In 1854, I was struck on the head with a heavy revolver and my skull broken, and was also shot in the left side, and to the present time carry the bullet in my body. No one knows what I have suffered from these wounds. At times they render me almost crazy. Doctors prescribed, years ago, morphine, which seemed to give relief, but the use of which together with strong drink, has at times—as I have been informed by my noble wife and good friends, made me mad, and during

these spells I have been cruel to her, at all other times I have been a kind husband. During these periods of debauch, caused by the mixture of morphine and liquor, I have insulted my best friends, but never when I was Jack Swilling, free from these poisonous influences. I have tried hard to cure myself of the growing appetite for morphine, but the craving of it was stronger than my will could resist. I have gone to the rescue of my fellow men when they were surrounded by Indians—I have given to those who needed—I have furnished shelter to the sick. From the Governor down to the lowest Mexican in the land have I extended my hospitality, and oh, my God, how am I paid for it all. Thrown into prison, accused of a crime that I would rather suffer crucifixion than commit. Taken from my wife and little children who are left out in this cold world all alone. Is this my reward for the kindness I have done to my fellow men and the pay I must receive for having done a Christian act, with Munroe and Kirby, that of going after the bones of my poor old friend Sniveley, and taking them to Gillett and burying them by the side of my dear child? George Munroe, Andy Kirby and myself are as innocent of the charge brought against us of robbing the stage as an infant babe. We went out to do a Christian act—Oh, God, is it possible, that poor Jack Swilling should be accused of such a crime? But the trouble has been brought on by crazy, drunken talk. I am willing to give up my life to save Munroe and Kirby, as God knows they are innocent. Oh, think of my poor babies and you would know that I would not leave them for

millions of money. I am persecuted and prosecuted until I can bear it no longer. Look at me and look at them. This cruel charge has brought me for the first time in my life under a jailor's key. Poor L. G. Taylor, whom I liked and tried to help, has been one of those who have wrought my ruin, and for what I cannot conceive, unless it was for the reward money or to rob my family out of the old ranch. The reason I write this is because I may be found dead any morning in my cell. I may drop off the same as poor Tom McWilliams did at Fort Goodwin. My persecutors will remember me. And may God help my poor family through this cold world, is my prayer.

John W. Swilling."

This statement is most pathetic and appeals to the sympathies of everyone. Had Swilling lived in our day, there is no doubt but that an operation would have restored him to normal health. That he was a good man and useful citizen who was hounded to death in a frontier community of self-seeking, unscrupulous and avaricious enemies, goes without saying.

Samuel C. Miller as we have heretofore seen, was one of the Walker Party, the first to discover gold in northern Arizona. He was the youngest member of this exploring band, and was, in many respects, a very remarkable man. He was born in Peoria, Illinois, November 4th, 1840. At the age of fifteen, he crossed the plains to the Pacific coast with his father and mother, making the entire journey on foot. He was naturally a frontiersman, which may account for the fact of his joining the Walker party at

the age of twenty-one years to explore the wilderness of Arizona. During the days of Indian dominancy, he had many thrilling experiences with the savage tribes, the most notable of which was the killing of Wauba Yuba, at which time he was one of the largest freighters in the Territory, owning a large number of mule teams, and engaged in hauling from the Colorado River to the different army posts, mostly under Government contracts. During this time, he had many adventures with the Indians, the principal one, as has been noted, being the killing of Wauba Yuba, the Hualapai chief, the following account of which is taken from the Journal-Miner of October 13th, 1909, and may be considered the personal statement of Mr. Miller himself:

"In the early days, Mr. Miller took passengers along with merchandise, Pullman accommodations barred. He left Hardyville on the Colorado River on one trip loaded to the brim on the main deck and in the 'trail' wagon there were three families, and that means several women and more children. George Banghart was among the passengers, and with his wife, and four young ladies, the preciousness of the occasion will be appreciated, as these ladies were gifted with more than ordinary beauty and personal accomplishments. Mr. Miller, on the other hand, says he was 'skeered' up somewhat as the route of his journey lay through the Wallapai country. The trip was uneventful until Beale Springs was reached and the many wagons were parked for the night. As the sun was setting, the horizon seemed to be alive with the red devils, and it seemed to Mr. Miller that



SAMUEL C. MILLER.



the entire tribe was in action. Suddenly, the head man of the tribe, Wauba Yuba, rode up and demanded a 'treaty,' saying that the horses and mules and the flour was all that was needed. The argument was brief. Mr. Miller reached for his Hawkins' rifle and sent a bullet crashing through the lungs of the Indian, tearing a hole in his body as big as his hand. Immediately, there were preparations made to resist an attack. This was unnecessary. Being trained to know the characteristics of the Indians, Mr. Miller knew that when once a chief falls, the 'jig is up.' He allayed all fears and felt 'very comfortable.' The entire band disappeared, and from that time there was no sign of Indians on the road to Prescott. Had the demand of Wauba been complied with, there is no question in Mr. Miller's mind that a massacre would have followed pell mell, and the women would have been taken into captivity. The rifle that did the 'business' is still in possession of Mr. Miller and may be seen at his home in Prescott. There is one woman residing in Prescott to-day who was present on that critical evening; she is Mrs. E. W. Wells, a daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Banghart. She is the wife of Judge E. W. Wells, and in the 60's, shortly after the memorable event at Beale Springs, she was married. She still talks of the narrow escape that signalized her coming to Prescott."

Another account of this same incident is contained in the Miner of April 25th, 1866, which is as follows:

"On the night of the 30th of March, a cabin at the Willows on the Mohave road, in which Ed-

ward Clower, formerly of Prescott, was sleeping, was totally destroyed by fire, and Clower lost his life, his body being burnt to a crisp. The story goes that Clower had lost his horses and been engaged for a day or two in hunting for them, assisted by a Hualapai Indian. On the night in question, the night of the eclipse of the moon, when Clower returned to sleep in the cabin, the Indian was permitted to sleep there also, and it is suspected that he first murdered Clower and then started the fire. This suspicion is strengthened by the evidence that all the arms and provisions had been removed from the cabin and no traces of the Indian being found. Two men encamped near the cabin thinking Indians had gathered in numbers, were afraid to venture there until daylight, and they started next day, for Hardyville. After a day or two, they met with Mr. Milton Hadley of Prescott, whom they met at the Cottonwoods, and who had been living with Mr. Clower and was returning from a hunting excursion, and met the trains of Messrs. Miller and Bowers, and returned with them. Hualapais hovered around their camp at night, but none came near until Tuesday following the fire, when Wauba Yuba, the chief of the Hualapais, presented himself, bearing a paper certifying to the treaty sometime since made with him by Mr. Hardy. After consultation, it being the judgment of the party that the Hualapais meant to make war, and that the killing of Clower and the burning of his cabin was the commencement of the hostilities, they determined to kill Wauba Yuba, and he was at once shot.

"While it is doubtless a fact that the actions of the Hualapais, or some of them, have of late been strange, and the fate of Clower is greatly to be deplored and must be revenged, we think the conclusion that the tribe wished to wage war with the whites is premature, and that the killing of Wauba Yuba will prove an unprofitable step. If, after an appeal to him for the delivery of the supposed murderer and incendiary he had not been given up, it might have been well to make an example and to have taken Wauba Yuba as a hostage, and perhaps to have executed him, but to kill him in cold blood before he had time to make an explanation or to prove his innocence and readiness to aid in bringing the culprit to justice, was a harsh and, we fear, a most unfortunate measure. It will exasperate the Hualapais and probably lead to an interruption to travel upon our only practicable road (in the absence of water on the La Paz road) to the Colorado."

Whether the killing of the Indian chief was justified or not, the result was very disastrous as far as the Americans were concerned, for the Hualapais and all of the tribes of the Colorado River immediately went upon the warpath and that portion of Arizona was the scene of much bloodshed for many years thereafter, until these tribes were finally subdued by General Crook.

Just before the advent of the railroads into the territory, Mr. Miller disposed of his freighting interests and engaged in mining and ranching. He located a ranch in the early days about a mile and a half from Prescott, in what is now known as Miller Valley, where he lived for many

years, and until his death on October 12th, 1909. He was survived by four sons and a daughter. Miller was a man of great firmness and force of character. He was honorable in all his dealings and universally respected; a valuable citizen in any community. He refused political preferment, preferring always a quiet home life.

Edward C. Peck was born in Canada in 1834. When a young man he came to the United States and in 1858, he joined a party of emigrants en route to California. He came over the old Santa Fe trail as far as Albuquerque, New Mexico, at which point they decided to strike westward along the Whipple trail and emigrant route between Albuquerque and Los Angeles. Without any serious mishaps, the party reached the villages of the friendly Zunis. Although warned against the Navajos and Apaches, the party continued their journey to the west. They reached the little Colorado and crossed to the west side at Sunset, near the present town of Winslow. They then travelled down the west bank of the little Colorado to the mouth of the Canyon Diablo, from which point on they were continually harassed night and day by Apaches. By the time the party reached Antelope Springs, near the present city of Flagstaff, the Indians had become too numerous to proceed further. The emigrants decided to retreat at once. They travelled all night in comparative safety, which was a disappointment to the Indians, who expected to murder the party at their leisure. The party travelled altogether at night until they reached the Zunis, where they stopped for sometime to recuperate their wornout animals and



ED. G. PECK.



themselves, following hunting and trapping until the fall of 1863, when Peck returned to Arizona in company with two others, Collier and Farnington. Peck secured the first hay contract at Fort Whipple, which was then located in Chino Valley. It was for three hundred tons of hay at thirty dollars a ton, to be cut with hoes. After completing his hay contract, in the forepart of 1864, he and his partners moved to Granite Creek to a point just above the Point of Rocks, two or three miles from where Prescott now stands. Here they built a cabin and cared for loose stock at three dollars a head. King Woolsey, a member of Governor Goodwin's staff, was selected to lead an expedition of a hundred men against the Apaches. Their rendezvous was at Woolsey's ranch on the Agua Fria, now known as the Bowers Ranch. The command was divided into squads of ten men to each squad, with a captain over it. Peck commanded one of these squads. Afterwards, when General Frank Wheaton commanded the Northern District, with his headquarters at Fort Whipple, Peck was his general guide and scout at that fort. He knew the country well and was invaluable as a guide, being cool, cautious and brave. After retiring from the army, he was shown in Prescott some rich silver ore. After examining it carefully, he said: "I know a place where you can get tons of ore as good as that is." The result was that he and two or three others went out and Peck showed them what afterwards became the Peck mine, where there were tons and tons of ore that would go from one thousand to two thousand dollars a ton. For a

time his mine paid largely, but it became involved in litigation, and Peck retired from it a poor man. He died in Nogales, December 13th, 1910, at the age of 77 years. Could the history of his life in Arizona be written in detail, it would be as romantic and interesting as that of Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett and other early pioneers in our country.

Jackson McCracken, a member of the Walker Party, served in the First Legislative Assembly of Arizona Territory in 1864, as a member of the lower house from Yavapai County. He was born in South Carolina in 1828. After his arrival in the territory with the Walker Party, he spent his time in mining and prospecting. Evidently, he was not very fastidious as to dress or personal appearance, for the following story is told of him: After his election, some of his constituents went to him and told him that he was now a member of the First Legislature of the great Territory of Arizona, and he should be dressed and equipped in keeping with the dignity of the office. He replied: "I am in the hands of my constituents." For answer they said: "All right Jack, we'll attend to you." So they formed a committee, took Jack down to Granite Creek, where they had a tub made from the end of a whiskey barrel, filled with water and soap. They gave him a good wash, scrubbed him down with a horse brush, wiped him off well, dressed him up with clean underclothing and a hand-me-down suit; took him to a barber and had his whiskers and hair trimmed properly, and turned him over to the Legislature, a man

of the people, a thoroughly clean and Progressive Democrat.

McCracken was an indefatigable prospector. With few advantages in early life he became a wanderer in the west, prospecting through Colorado and New Mexico until finally he reached Arizona. He discovered the Del Pasco mine, and also the McCracken mine, both of which are well known in Northern Arizona. He blazed the trail for others to follow and was among the first to set foot upon the soil where Prescott now stands. He went to San Francisco late in the seventies, and, on the 28th of December, 1882, was married to Mrs. Josephine Clifford, whose former husband had been an army officer stationed in Arizona, where she had a sad and varied experience. Immediately after their marriage McCracken and his wife located the Monte Paraiso ranch in the Santa Cruz Mountains in California, and invested their money in clearing the land, setting out vineyards and orchards, building roads, etc. The ranch was located about three miles above the station at Wrights in a redwood forest. It was, indeed, a paradise; a home surrounded with orchards and vineyards, gardens and groves, and an abundance of water, fountains and reservoirs. The house was the finest in the mountains, and Mrs. McCracken, being of literary taste, at one time associated with the old Pioneer Monthly Magazine as one of its editors, their home became a place of resort for men like Ambrose Bierce, Bret Harte and others, who always found there a hearty welcome.

In 1899 a forest fire swept over that portion of the Santa Cruz Mountains, destroying their home and ranch and the forest. McCracken came near losing his life because he had ventured into the forty acre timber tract trying to save the forest by back-firing. His hair and long beard were singed and the boots on his feet were burned before he got out. "This forest fire," says his wife, "was remarkable as wine had been used to extinguish the flames when they reached the Meyer winery building."

They created an indebtedness in rebuilding their home, which filled McCracken with worry and anxiety, under the strain of which his health failed and his life came to a close on December 14th, 1904, at the age of 80 years. He was buried on the ranch in a spot he had selected for himself long before. The accompanying picture shows him and his favorite dog on the Picture Rock. To the right, as you look at the picture, a little forward, is his grave. This rock was his favorite resting place, and he wanted to be buried at the foot of it. Standing by the grave a group of young firs rises behind you, and you look through an avenue of olives out on the Bay of Monterey.

His wife, now over seventy years of age, is engaged as a reporter for a daily newspaper in Santa Cruz, California.

John T. Alsap came to Arizona a few months before the organization of the Territory, and settled in what is now the city of Prescott. He was born in Frankfort, Kentucky, in 1832. He was graduated in 1854 from the New York College of Medicine as a bachelor of law and physi-



JACKSON McCRAKEN.



cian, in which year he crossed the plains, and for some years thereafter practiced medicine to some extent in California in conjunction with mining and prospecting. Upon his arrival in Arizona he took up mining and prospecting in the vicinity of Prescott. The Apache Indians being troublesome the following winter, he accompanied King Woolsey on an expedition against the tribe as surgeon of the command. He was appointed the first Territorial Treasurer of Arizona, and served during the administration of Governor McCormick. In 1868 he was elected to the Legislature as the representative from Yavapai County. In 1869 in company with his wife's brother, W. L. Osborn, he settled in the Salt River Valley, about a mile northeast from Phoenix, and thereafter was intimately connected with the development of this section. He was elected to the legislature in 1870, and aided in the organization of Maricopa County. The same year he was Probate Judge of the new county. His term in the Assembly expired in 1872. He was admitted to the practice of the law in Arizona in 1871, and afterwards served as District Attorney of Maricopa County, after which he served again in the Legislature. In 1886 he was nominated for County Treasurer of Maricopa County, but died in September of that year prior to the election. In the intervals of his public duties, he was actively engaged in the practice of law, and won an enviable reputation as a member of the bar. He was a member of the Odd Fellows, the Knights of Pythias, and was prominent in Masonic circles, being a past officer in the commandery and its represen-

tative in the Grand Lodge of the Territory. He was a strict Methodist in religion and in politics a Democrat. He was twice married, his first wife being Louisa A. Osborn, a daughter of John Preston Osborn, one of the pioneers of Prescott, and his second wife being Anna D. Murray. Some of his descendants are yet living in the Salt River Valley.





WILLIAM SANDERS OURY.

## CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS (Continued).

WILLIAM S. OURY—MEMBER OF EXPEDITION AGAINST INDIANS—PARTICIPANT IN “CAMP GRANT MASSACRE”—HIS OWN STORY OF IT—MENTIONS MANY KILLED, WOUNDED AND ROBBED BY INDIANS—INDICTMENT, ARREST, TRIAL AND RELEASE OF PARTICIPANTS IN MASSACRE—FIRST PRESIDENT OF ARIZONA PIONEER’S SOCIETY—GRANVILLE H. OURY—COMMANDDED EXPEDITION OUT OF TUCSON TO JOIN CRABB—SENT AS DELEGATE TO CONFEDERATE CONGRESS AT RICHMOND—RETURN TO ARIZONA—TWICE DELEGATE TO CONGRESS FROM TERRITORY OF ARIZONA.

William S. Oury was born in Wythe County, Virginia, on August 13th, 1816. In early life he drifted to the west and was with General Sam Houston, at the battle of San Jacinto. He came to Arizona in 1856, and engaged in stock raising and trading. He bore his part in the early history of the Territory, and was a member of several expeditions against the Indians. He organized the expedition against the Indians which resulted in what has been called the “Camp Grant Massacre.” The following is his own story concerning it; and is a paper read by him before the Society of Arizona Pioneers on April 6th, 1885:

“Having been chosen by our President to give a paper upon some events connected with the early history of Arizona, the writer has selected

for his theme the so-called Camp Grant Massacre, believing it to be one of the events most important in its result to the peace and progress of our Apache-cursed land. To give a mere recital of the act of killing a few more or less of the blood-thirsty savages without the details of the causes and provocations which drove a long-suffering and patient people to the adoption of remedial measures so apparently cruel in their results, would be a great wrong and injustice to those of our friends and neighbors who in various ways gave sanction and aid to the undertaking, and would fall far short of the object and aim of the writer to give fair and impartial history.

“In the year 1870, in accordance with the peace policy which had been decided upon by the U. S. Government, the Pinal and Aravaipa bands of Apache Indians were collected together and placed upon a reservation around Old Camp Grant at the junction of the San Pedro and Aravaipa creeks, about fifty-five miles from Tucson, under the supervision of military stationed at that post. One or two agents for them had been taken from civil life, but in a short time their management proving unsatisfactory, one Royal E. Whitman, a lieutenant of the 3rd Cavalry, U. S. A., was assigned to duty as their agent. Being what is termed a sharp man and of thrifty disposition, he soon saw that there was money in the Apache, and lost no time in the practical application of that knowledge, to do which required outside partners, who were soon found in Tucson. A settler’s store was first started, followed by a blacksmith, butcher, and a

number of others chosen in various capacities, ostensibly for the benefit of 'poor Lo,' 'affidavy' easy conscience witness-men, for the boss, and, as a trite saying goes 'hell was fully inaugurated.'

"The Indians soon commenced plundering and murdering the citizens of Tucson, San Xavier, Tubac, Sonoita, San Pedro and every other settlement within a radius of 100 miles of Old Camp Grant, in the confidence that if they escaped to their reservation, they reached a secure haven. During the winter of 1870-71, these murders and depredations were so numerous as to threaten the abandonment of nearly all the settlements outside of Tucson, especially that of San Pedro, the most numerous and most important of them all. In the meantime, the citizens of Tucson were aroused, meetings were held upon the occurrence of each new murder or outrage, representations were made to the right Royal Whitman, that his Indians were plundering and murdering our people, which he denied, and stood ready to prove by every striker on the reservation that his Indians never left the place. Meanwhile, the work of death and destruction kept up with ever increasing force until the slaughter of Wooster and wife on the Santa Cruz above Tubac so influenced the people that an indignation meeting was held at Tucson. A great amount of resoluting and speechifying was indulged in, and it was determined to raise a military company at once for which a paper was drawn up and signers called for, to which eighty-two Americans signed their names. The writer was elected Captain, and all hands pledged to

eat up every Apache in the land upon the recurrence of a new outrage. A committee was appointed to visit Department Commander General Stoneman, at the time on the Gila near Florence, consisting of S. R. DeLong, J. W. Hopkins and the writer. The result of the conference with the august personage, General Stoneman, was that he had but few troops and could give us no aid—that Tucson had the largest population in the Territory, and gave us to understand that we must protect ourselves. With this cold comfort after a trip of one hundred and fifty miles, and the loss of a valuable mule, we returned to our constituents, and although no public demonstration was made, at a quiet assemblage of some of our ablest and most substantial citizens, it was resolved that the recommendation of General Stoneman should be adopted, and that we would, to the best of our ability, endeavor to protect ourselves.

“A few days afterward, in the beginning of April, 1871, the arrival of a courier from San Xavier brought the sad intelligence that Indians had just made a descent upon that place and driven off a large number of horses and mules. The alarm drum—the usual way of collecting our people—was beaten, a flaming cartoon carried by a man who accompanied the drummer was displayed with the following inscription: ‘Injuns! Injuns! Injuns!—Big Meeting at the Court House—Come Everybody—Time for Action has Arrived.’ This device had been so frequently resorted to, and the results had been so unsatisfactory, that it failed to draw. Meanwhile a party of citizens had saddled their horses

and learning from the San Xavier courier the direction the marauding Indians had taken, rode off, hoping to intercept them before they reached Cabadilla Pass. In this they were disappointed because the Indians had gone into the pass before they arrived, but they met the pursuing party from San Xavier and the whole party followed through the pass and overtook the rear Indian driving the stock, on a tired horse, and killed him and recovered some of the cattle—the other Indians escaped with the horses and freshest cattle. Upon the return of the party to Tucson, I hunted up Jesus M. Elias, and had a long conference with him in which he said to me: 'Don Guillermo, I have always been satisfied and have repeatedly told you that the Camp Grant Indians were the ones destroying us. I have now positive proof, the Indian we have just killed, I will swear, and others will swear, is a Camp Grant Indian. I have frequently seen him there, and know him well by his having his front teeth out, and, as a further proof, when we overtook the Indians, they were making a direct course for Camp Grant. Now, it devolves upon you as one of the oldest American residents of this country to devise some means of saving us from total ruin, which the present state of affairs must inevitably lead to if not remedied. See your countrymen, they are the only ones who have money to furnish the supplies necessary to make a formal and effective campaign against our implacable enemies. I know my countrymen and will vouch that if arms, ammunition and provisions, however scant are furnished, they will be ready at the first call.' I replied, 'Don Jesus,

I will answer that at all times I will be ready to do my part, and will at once issue a call for the assemblage of my people at the court house where you can publicly state what you have just told me, and some concerted plan can be adopted which may give the desired relief.' With a sad shake of his head, he answered: 'Don Guillermo, for months we have repeatedly held public meetings at which many patriotic speeches have been made, and many glowing resolutions passed; meanwhile our means of subsistence have been rapidly diminishing and nothing has been accomplished. We cannot resolute the remorseless Apache out of existence—if that could be done, everyone of them would have been dead long since—besides, giving publicity to the course we might pursue would surely defeat any plan we might adopt. You are aware that there are wealthy and influential men in this community whose interest is to have the Indians at Camp Grant left undisturbed who would, at the first intimation of an intent to inquire seriously into their operations, appeal to the military, whose ear they have, and frustrate all our plans and hopes.' I saw at once the force of his arguments, and replied: 'Lay out a plan of action and I will aid you with all the zeal and energy I possess.' He then developed the following plan: 'You and I will go first to San Xavier, see Francisco the head Papago there, and have him send runners to the various Papago villages, notifying them that on the 28th of April we want them to be at San Xavier early in the morning with all the force that they can muster for a campaign

against our common enemy, the Apaches—Francisco to be prepared to give them a good breakfast on their arrival, and send messengers to me at once.' This matter being satisfactory, we returned to Tucson. Don Jesus said: 'I will see all the Mexicans who may desire to participate in the campaign and have them all ready to move on the day fixed. You will make arrangements with the Americans you can trust; either to take an active part in the campaign, or render such assistance in supplies, arms, ammunition, and horses as will be required to carry out the expedition. And, on the day fixed, April 28th, news of the arrival of the Papagoes at San Xavier having first been received, all who were to be active participants in the campaign to leave town quietly and singly to avoid giving alarm and rendezvous on the Rillito opposite San Xavier, where the Papagoes will be advised to meet us, and where as per arrangements, the arms, ammunition and provisions were to be delivered and distributed. All hands having arrived at the rendezvous, the command to fully organize by the election of a commander whom all shall pledge to obey implicitly. When thus organized the company to march up the Rillito until the trail of the Indians, who had committed the recent depredations at San Xavier was struck, which was to be followed wherever it led to, and all Indians found on it killed if possible.' Here you have the whole plan of the Camp Grant campaign as proposed by Mr. Elias and concurred in by the writer.

"For its successful fulfillment, we both went to work with all our hearts, he with his country-

men, the Mexicans, I with mine, the Americans, and both together with our auxiliaries, the Papagoes. Early in the morning of April 28th, 1871, we received the welcome news of the arrival of the Papagoes at San Xavier, and that after a short rest and a feed they would march to the general rendezvous on the Rillito. Soon after Elias informed me that the Mexican contingent was quietly and singly leaving town for the same destination, and soon after the writer, having given proper directions to the extremely small contingent of his own countrymen, silently and alone took up the line of march to the common rendezvous. By three P. M. all the command had arrived, also that which was still more essential to the successful issue of that campaign, to-wit, the wagon with the arms, ammunition and grub, thanks to our companion, the Adjutant General of the Territory, whose name it might not be discreet to give in this connection, but who is well known to almost every member of the Society of Pioneers. As soon as the writer was convinced that no further increase was to be expected, he proceeded to take account of the stock with the following result: Papagoes, 92; Mexicans, 48; Americans, 6—in all 146 men, good and true. During our stay at the general rendezvous, a number of pleasantries were indulged in by the different members of the party upon the motley appearance of the troop, and your historian got a blow squarely in the right eye from an old neighbor, who quietly said to him: 'Don Guillermo, your countrymen are grand on resolutions and speechifying, but when it comes to action they show up exceedingly thin,'—which,

in view of the fact that 82 Americans had solemnly pledged themselves to be ready at any moment for the campaign, and only six finally showed up, was, to say the least, rather humiliating. However, everything was taken pleasantly. Jesus Elias was elected commander of the expedition, and at 4 P. M. the company was in the saddle ready for the march. Just then it seemed to me that we had neglected a very important precautionary measure, and I pencilled the following note to H. S. Stevens, Esq., Tucson: 'Send a party to Cañada del Oro on the main road from Tucson to Camp Grant, with orders to stop any and all persons going towards Camp Grant until 7 A. M. of April 30th, 1871.' This note I gave to the teamster who had not yet left our camp, who delivered it promptly to Mr. Stevens and it was as promptly attended to by him. But for this precaution, our campaign would have resulted in complete failure from the fact that the absence of so many men from so small a population as Tucson then contained was noted by a person of large influence in the community, at whose urgent request the military commander sent an express of two soldiers with dispatches to Camp Grant, who were quietly detained at Cañada del Oro, and did not reach the post until too late to harm us.

"After writing and dispatching the note above referred to, the order 'Forward' was given, and the command moved gaily and confidently on its mission. About 6 P. M. the trail was struck which we proposed to follow, and the march continued through Cabadilla Pass and down the slopes of the San Pedro to the point where the

San Xavier party had killed the Indian above referred to, when the order was given to camp, as it was about midnight—the moon going down and the trail could not well be followed in the dark. Just at break of day on the morning of April 29th, we marched down into the San Pedro bottom, where our commander determined to remain until nightfall, lest our command be discovered by roving Indians, and an alarm given at the rancheria. We had followed all this time the trail of the Indians who had raided San Xavier, and every man in the command was now fully satisfied that it would lead us to the reservation, and arrangements were made accordingly. Commander Elias gave orders to march as soon as it was dark, and believing that we were much nearer the rancheria than we really were, and that we would reach its neighborhood by midnight, detailed three men as scouts whose duty it was when the command arrived conveniently near the rancheria, to go ahead and ascertain the exact locality and report to him the result of their reconnaissance in order to have no guess work about their actual position, and make our attack, consequently, a haphazard affair. Everything being now ready for the final march, we moved out of the San Pedro bottom just at dark. It soon became evident that our captain and all those who thought they knew the distance had made a grave mistake, and that instead of being sixteen miles, as estimated, it was nearer thirty miles, so that, after a continuous march through the whole night, it was near day-break before we reached Aravaipa Canyon, so that when we did reach it, there was no time to

make the proposed reconnaissance, to ascertain the exact location of the Indian camp—which involved the necessity of a change in our plan of attack. We knew that the rancheria was in Aravaipa Canyon, somewhere above the post, but the exact distance nobody knew—we were in a critical position—we were in sight of the post—in either case our expedition would be an absolute failure—but our gallant captain was equal to the emergency. Promptly he gave orders to divide the company into two wings, the one to comprise the Papagoes, the other the Mexicans and Americans, and to skirmish up the creek until we struck the rancheria. When the order forward was given, a new difficulty arose, which, if it had not been speedily overcome, would have been fatal. The command was now in plain view of the military post—the Papagoes had all the time been afraid of military interference with us. I assured them that no such thing would occur, and vouched for it. It happened that just as the command was halting I had dropped the canteen from the horn of my saddle, and dismounting to look for it in the dust and semi-darkness, behind the troops, the Papagoes, not seeing me at the front when the order forward for the skirmish was given, refused to move, inquiring where Don Guillermo was. Word was immediately passed down the line to me, and I galloped to the front, and with a motion of my hand—without a spoken word, the Papagoes bounded forward like deer and the skirmish began, and a better executed one I never saw even from veteran soldiers. There was not a break in either line from the beginning

to end of the affair, which covered a distance of nearly four miles before the Indians were struck. They were completely surprised and sleeping in absolute security in the wickiups, with only a buck and a squaw on the lookout on a bluff above the rancheria—who were playing cards by a small fire, and were both clubbed to death before they could give the alarm. The Papagoes attacked them in the wickiups with guns and clubs, and all who escaped them took to the bluffs and were received and dispatched by the other wing, which occupied a position above them. The attack was so swift and fierce that within half an hour the whole work was ended, and not an adult Indian left to tell the tale. Some 28 or 30 small pappooses were spared and brought to Tucson as captives. Not a single man of our company was hurt to mar the full measure of our triumph, and at 8 o'clock on the bright April morning of April 30, 1871, our tired troops were resting in the San Pedro a few miles above the post in full satisfaction of a work well done.

“Here, also, might your historian lay down his pen and rest, but believing that in order to fully vindicate those who were aiders and abettors, he craves your indulgence whilst he gives a brief summary of the causes which drove our people to such extreme measures, and the happy effects resulting therefrom.

“Through the greater part of the year 1870, and the first part of 1871, these Indians had held a carnival of murder and plunder in all our settlements until our people had been appalled and almost paralyzed. On the San Pedro the

bravest and best of its pioneers had fallen by the wayside—instance Henry Long, Alex. McKenzie, Sam Brown, Simms, and many others well known to all of you. On the Santa Cruz noble Wooster and his wife, Sanders, and an innumerable host sleep the sleep that knows no waking. On the Sonoita the gallant Remington, Jackson, Carroll, Rotherwell, and others, were slain, without a chance of defense, and our secretary, W. J. Osborne, severely wounded.

“In the vicinity of Tucson, mail drivers and riders, and almost all others whom temerity or necessity caused to leave the protection of our adobe walls, were pitilessly slaughtered—makes the array truly appalling. Add to this the fact that the remaining settlers in the San Pedro, not knowing who the next victim would be, had at last resolved to abandon their crops in the field, and fly with their wives and children to Tucson for safety, and the picture is complete up to that glorious and memorable morning of April 30, 1871, when swift punishment was dealt out to those red-handed butchers, and they were wiped from the face of the earth.

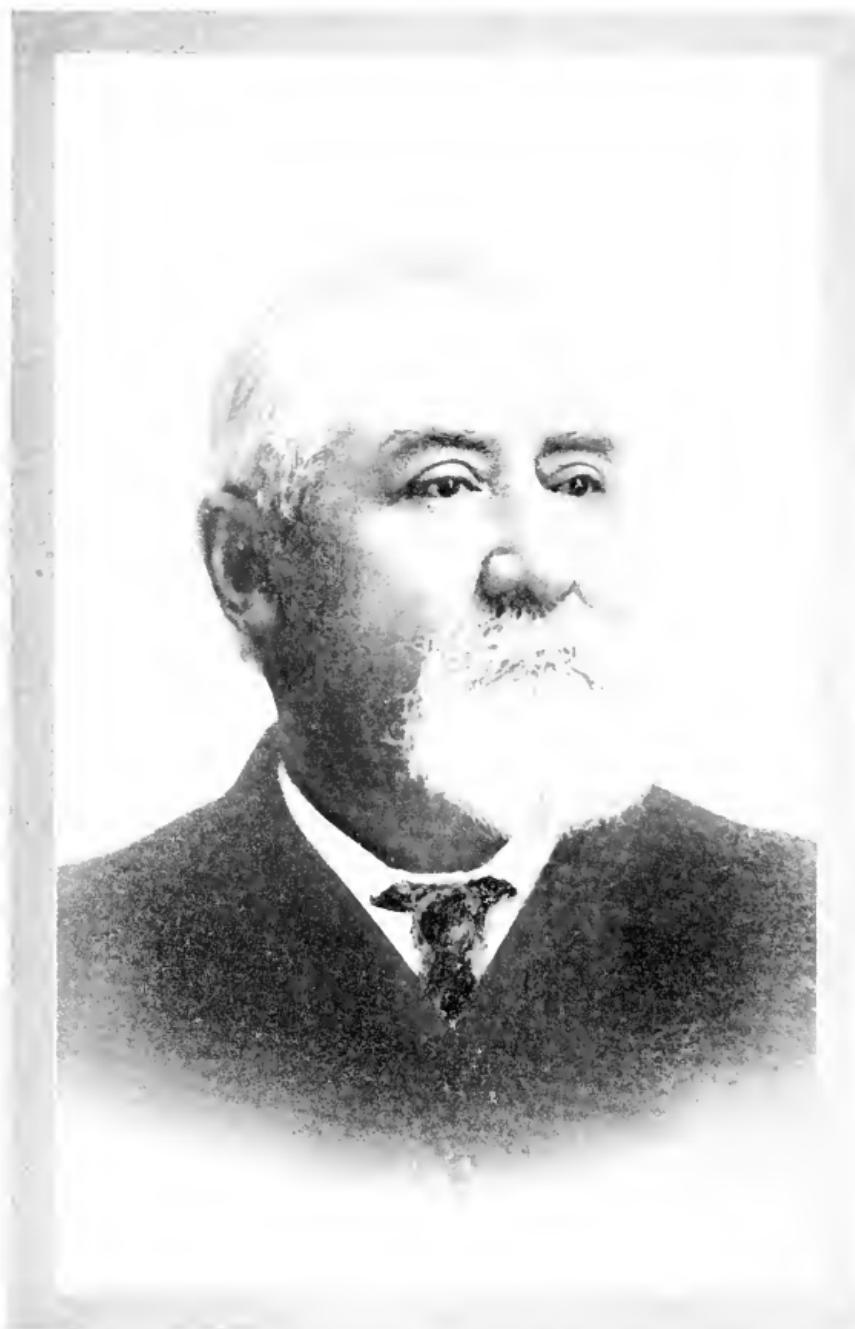
“Behold, now, the happy result immediately following that episode. The farmers of the San Pedro returned with their wives and babies to gather their abandoned crops. On the Sonoita, Santa Cruz, and all other settlements of southern Arizona, new life springs up, confidence is restored and industry bounds forward with an impetus that has known no check in the whole fourteen years that have elapsed since that occurrence.

“In view of all these facts, I call on all Arizonans to answer on their conscience: Can you call the killing of the Apaches at Camp Grant on the morning of April 30, 1871, a massacre?”

This event caused great excitement throughout the East among the party which was known at that time as the “Indian Lovers.” General Grant was President and informed the authorities in Arizona that if the men engaged in this, what he termed, outrage, were not brought to trial by the civil authorities, he would place the territory under martial law, as a result of which, at the request of W. S. Oury, and others of the leaders of the expedition, they, with about a hundred John Does and Richard Roes, were indicted, arrested, and brought to trial. They were all released. Further particulars of this trial will be fully related in its proper place in this history. W. S. Oury was the first President of the Pioneers’ Society at Tucson, and died in that city in March, 1887.

Granville H. Oury was born in Abingdon, Virginia, and came to Arizona in 1856. He commanded the expedition out of Tucson which went to join the Crabb expedition in Mexico, as heretofore related. Upon the seizure of Tucson by the Confederates and the organization of the Territorial Government under Secession rule, he was sent as a Delegate to the Confederate Congress at Richmond, where he remained during the war. At its close he returned to Arizona, settled in Florence, where he practiced his profession, that of an attorney, and served two terms as Delegate to Congress in the years 1880-82. He was a brother of W. S. Oury. He died in the year 1891, in Washington, D. C.





PETER R. BRADY.

## CHAPTER XIV.

EARLY PIONEERS AND SETTLERS (Continued).

**PETER R. BRADY—GRADUATE OF ANNAPOLIS—MEMBER OF SURVEYING PARTY—FARMER, MINER AND STOCKMAN—CANDIDATE FOR DELEGATE TO CONGRESS—DEFEATED BY R. C. MCCORMICK—ASSISTS GOVERNMENT IN DETECTING PERALTA-REAVIS LAND FRAUD—HIS PARTING WITH H. F. ASHURST—DEATH OF—MICHAEL GOLDWATER—EARLY BUSINESS MAN IN ARIZONA—LAYS OUT TOWNSITE OF EHRENBURG—MANY BUSINESS VENTURES—MAYOR OF PRESCOTT—DEATH OF—CHARLES TRUMBULL HAYDEN—EARLY SANTA FE TRADER—RIDES FIRST OVERLAND STAGE TO TUCSON—FIRST PROBATE JUDGE AT TUCSON—ESTABLISHES FIRST FERRY AND FIRST STORE AT TEMPE—EXTENSIVE MERCANTILE AND OTHER INTERESTS—DEATH OF.**

Among the early pioneers of Arizona, none bore a more prominent part in its development than Peter Rainsford Brady. He came, on his paternal side, from good old Irish stock. His mother, Anna Rainsford, was from Virginia. He was born in Georgetown, District of Columbia, August 4th, 1825; received his education, in part, at the Georgetown College, later entering the Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland, from which he was graduated about the year 1844. After cruising around the Mediterranean Sea in the United States vessel "Plymouth," he resigned from the navy, and left his home Octo-

ber 26th, 1846, for San Antonio, Texas, where he enlisted as a Lieutenant in the Texas Rangers, and served with distinction in the Mexican War. After the war Mr. Brady joined a surveying party under Colonel Andrew B. Gray, who made a survey from Marshall, Texas, to El Paso; thence across the country to Tubac and from the latter point made branch surveys, one to Port Lobos on the Gulf of California, and the other to Fort Yuma and San Diego. Mr. Brady served as a captain on this expedition, and was prominent in many Indian fights. When the work was completed, the company disbanded at San Francisco.

Mr. Brady was of an adventurous spirit, and in his younger life preferred the wilderness to the smooth paths of civilization. In 1854 he came to Arizona and settled in Tucson, in which place he resided for many years, bearing his part as a good citizen in those exciting times. After the organization of the Territory, he held several public offices, and was sheriff for two terms. He was married in 1859 to Juanita Mendibles, who bore to him four children, all boys. She died in 1871, and in 1878 he married Miss Maria Ontonia Ochoa, of Florence, Arizona, by whom he had three boys and one girl. He settled in Florence in 1872, and made it his home for twenty-seven years. He engaged in farming, mining and stock raising. In 1881 he received \$60,000 for his half interest in the Vekol Mine.

He was a Candidate for Delegate to Congress in 1871, against Richard C. McCormick, who was declared elected by a small majority.

Mr. Brady was in all respects a strong man, not only physically, but mentally; of unquestioned integrity, and in every position of honor or trust, he reflected credit upon the appointing power. A gentleman of the old school, he was genial, kind and hospitable. The latch-string to his house always hung upon the outside. He served several times in the Territorial Legislature and always with great credit to himself, using his influence at all times to enact laws for the benefit of the Territory.

"In 1894," says his daughter, Miss Margaret A. Brady, "my father was appointed as Special Agent for the Interior Department, in the U. S. Private Court of Land Claims, and he obtained valuable information in behalf of the Government in the Peralta-Reavis land fraud. His notes are very humorous relative to the ridiculous claims of Reavis and his wife. I can say that it was greatly due to my father's information that the Government was able to identify the fraud."

In 1898 he served for the last time in the Upper House of the Territorial Legislature, and from the Arizona Gazette of March, 1898, I extract the following:

"Quite a pathetic little parting scene occurred at the Maricopa depot upon the evening of the departure of the members of the legislature. Hon. Peter R. Brady, the veteran councilman of the Nineteenth, whose biography has been closely interwoven with stirring and interesting events in the early history of Arizona, stood a little apart from the chatting group. Though still of vigorous constitution and robust

build, the whitened hair told of the cares of many years of active life. At the veteran's side stood a tall, fairhaired youth, ambition, energy and hope outlined in every attribute of his makeup. The two stood with their hands clasped in an affectionate farewell. The tears welled in the old man's eyes as he spoke brokenly words of cheer and promise to the young man who had made so brilliant a beginning in public life. Ashurst was equally affected. Early in the session the two had become warmly attached, being respectively the oldest and youngest member of the body, and often did the young man seek the counsels of his old friend and profit by them.

“‘We will probably never meet again this side the grave,’ said the patriarch, as he gave the young man’s hand a fervent farewell wring, ‘but God bless you on your way.’ ”

In 1899, Mr. Brady moved with his family from Florence to Tucson, where he lived up to the time of his death, which occurred May 2nd, 1902, at the age of 77 years. All his children are still living and have their residences in Arizona. His second wife died August 14th, 1910.

One of the earliest business men to settle permanently in Arizona was Michael Goldwater, who came to Arizona in 1860, locating at La Paz on the Colorado River. At that time he was associated in business with Mr. B. Cohen, and founded a large forwarding and trading business besides being Government contractors and merchants. They erected the first mill upon the Vulture Mine, and when it was completed, Mr. Goldwater, with Mr. James Cusenberry, the





MICHAEL GOLDWATER.

superintendent, took charge of the property, and ran the mill for about ninety days, paying off all the debts upon it and then turning it back to the owners.

In 1870, having large Government freighting contracts and the Colorado River having receded from the town of La Paz, Mr. Goldwater laid out the townsite of Ehrenberg on the Colorado River, as a result of which the town of La Paz was soon abandoned.

In 1869 Mr. Goldwater secured a contract to supply Camp Whipple and Fort Verde with corn, but a corner having been made in the market, he was unable to obtain the corn in the Territory, except at a great loss, and travelled overland to New Mexico, where he bought his supply and freighted it in by ox teams to Verde and Whipple.

In 1870 he opened a mercantile business in Phoenix, the first store of any size in what is now the Capital city. After about four years, he disposed of his business in Phoenix, to J. Y. T. Smith, King Woolsey and C. W. Stearns, retaining his business in Ehrenberg. In 1876 he opened a store in Prescott, which is still carried on by his sons. For many years he was associated in the freighting business with Dr. W. W. Jones, one of Arizona's early pioneers. He served a term as Mayor of Prescott in the early eighties.

Like many pioneers Mr. Goldwater travelled over the country with his own team of horses and buggy, and had many a narrow escape from hostile Indians. As a business man, his career was above reproach; practical, active and far-

seeing, and having great faith in the future of Arizona, he laid the foundation for a fortune, not only for himself, but for his family. To the Mexicans he was known as "Don Miguel" and to all others as "Mike." His friends were not confined to any one nationality. In 1883 he retired from business, turning his interests over to his sons, and went to San Francisco to live, where he died in 1903. He is survived by two sons, Morris Goldwater and Barry Goldwater, who, under the firm name of M. Goldwater & Brother, conduct large mercantile businesses in Prescott and Phoenix, and are very prominent in financial and business circles in the State, as will be shown as this history progresses.

Charles Trumbull Hayden, whose name is linked with the early history of Arizona, was born in Windsor, Connecticut, April 4th, 1825. When eighteen years old he taught school in New Jersey, and afterwards near New Albany, Indiana, and in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1848 he loaded a wagon with merchandise, and left Independence, Missouri, for Santa Fe, New Mexico, where he marketed his goods and returned in the fall. He continued in business at Independence for some time, but when the gold excitement began in 1849, he outfitted a train of ox teams, and started over the Santa Fe trail. He arrived in Santa Fe late in 1849, and met some parties from California, who bought his outfit, consisting of fourteen wagons loaded with supplies, each drawn by six yoke of oxen. He then returned to Missouri to purchase another stock of goods and establish himself in business in Santa Fe. He was a passenger upon the first Overland Stage to

Tucson in 1858, to which place he moved his stock of goods from Santa Fe and established himself in business there. He engaged in contracting with the Government for the furnishing of supplies to the soldiers and did a large freighting business to the mines, hauling supplies in, and ore out. He had many freight teams and brought his merchandise in these early days from Port Ysabel on the Gulf of California. After the close of the Civil War, supplies were brought up the Gulf of California from California. Mr. Hayden was appointed the first Probate Judge at Tucson under the laws of New Mexico, and bore his part in the early settlement of that part of Arizona by the Americans.

About the year 1870 he came to what is now Tempe. The river was up so high that he could not ford it, and, going to the top of the butte, it occurred to him that it would be a good irrigating country. He returned to Tucson and, soon afterwards, heard that Jack Swilling and his associates were taking out the Tempe Canal. He came over to see them and established the first ferry across the river and the first store in what is now Tempe, but then called Hayden's Ferry. He supplied the canal builders with merchandise and took an interest in the canal, through which he obtained water power for his mill, which began to produce flour in the year 1874. His business was extensive, he owned the mill, the mercantile business, the blacksmith shop, the carpenter shop, and practically the whole town, besides which he established other stores, two on the Gila Reservation, and one on

the Salt River. He was a partner with a man by the name of Brooks at Prescott, and acquired some ranch property there under the Homestead and Timber Claim Law, and pastured cattle and other stock upon it.

In October, 1876, he was married at Nevada City, California, to Miss Sally Calvert Davis, a native of Arkansas. They came to Arizona on the railroad as far as Colton, from which place they took the stage to Ehrenberg, and from thence by his own conveyance to Tempe, which was his home up to the time of his death in February, 1900. By this marriage he had four children, Carl Hayden, who was the first representative in Congress from the State of Arizona, and three daughters, one of whom died in infancy, and two of whom are now living. His wife died in Tempe in 1907.

During the Civil War Mr. Hayden was the only representative of the Federal Government around Tucson for a year or two, the soldiers having been withdrawn from New Mexico. He frequently organized the whites to resist the Apache raids.

Charles Trumbull Hayden was a typical pioneer, fearless, independent, energetic, and generous to a fault, which made him, to a great extent, the prey of designing men.

## CHAPTER XV.

## FORMATION OF MINING DISTRICTS.

GOLD PLACERS ON COLORADO—EUREKA DISTRICT—CASTLE DOME—LA PAZ—WEAVER AND WALKER DIGGINGS—PLANET MINE—ANTELOPE PEAK—LYNX CREEK—BIG BUG—VULTURE MINE—CASTLE DOME MINING DISTRICT—WEAVER MINING DISTRICT—PIONEER MINING DISTRICT—YAPAPEI MINING DISTRICT—WALKER MINING DISTRICT—QUARTZ MOUNTAIN MINING DISTRICT.

As we have heretofore seen, numerous attempts had been made by citizens of what is now Arizona, and also citizens of New Mexico, to organize the Territory of Arizona, which attempts, up to the winter of 1862-63, did not seem to have been taken seriously by Congress, this territory being considered practically worthless and the home of the wildest set of Indians that ever cursed any portion of the continent, and it is doubtful whether the Territory would have been organized had it not been for the discovery of gold and silver within its boundaries.

The first discoveries, as we have seen, were made on the Gila about twenty miles from the Colorado, where gold placers were opened in 1858 and caused some excitement. A traveller passing at that time said he saw twenty dollars washed out of eight shovelsfull of dirt; this in the rudest manner by an unpracticed hand. The diggings were located in sand hills from a

half a mile to a mile from the river, and there being no water at hand, dry washing was resorted to by the Indians and Mexicans, who made from one to two dollars a day, and occasionally secured twenty to thirty dollars.

About this time the Eureka District was located above what is now the city of Yuma, where a vein of argentiferous galena carrying from twenty to thirty per cent of silver with a small amount of gold, was discovered. These lodes were in the mountain ranges from one to twenty miles east from the river bank, and were reached by trails. A few of them were taken up in 1862, and at that time were partially developed.

Castle Dome, fifty miles above Yuma City, so called from its being located upon this isolated mountain resembling a dome, was laid out about this time. The lodes were in the mountains fifteen to thirty miles back from the river, but were not easy of access, and water was very scarce. The ores were argentiferous galena in a vein stone of fluor spar, and contained from thirty to forty ounces to the ton. For years afterwards they were extensively worked and some of them proved quite profitable.

The next district was that above the town of La Paz, and bore the same name. It was first explored in the Colorado River gold excitement of 1862. Mr. A. McKey, a member of the Territorial Legislature from La Paz, furnished to J. Ross Browne, the annexed account of the discovery of the placers that caused the upbuilding of La Paz, which became a place of considerable importance and a favorite shipping point for

goods for Central Arizona, and, although I have heretofore alluded to these diggings, yet it may not be out of place to insert at this point the statement of Mr. McKey, which is as follows:

"Captain Pauline Weaver, and others, in the month of January, 1862, were trapping on the Colorado River, and at times would stray off into the mountains for the purpose of prospecting for gold. They had discovered what was then named and is still called 'El Arollo de la Tenaja,' which is about two miles north from El Campo Ferra, and about seven miles east from La Paz. In this gulch they had discovered gold in small quantities, and had taken out two or three dollars' worth, which Captain Weaver kept in a goose-quill.

"Soon after this discovery Weaver visited Fort Yuma and exhibited what gold he had. This evidence of the existence of a commodity so much sought for in this country convinced others that gold might be found in quantities by hunting for it. Don Jose M. Redondo having heard of the discovery, at once set out to visit the newly found 'El Dorado,' in company with several others. He arrived a few days afterward at the camp of Captain Weaver, who pointed out to him and his party the particular gulch from which he had taken the gold. After a short examination of this place the party set out in different directions to discover, if possible, something which would pay to work, and the extent of the placers. Within less than a mile from Weaver's camp, south, Redondo took a pan of dirt to prospect, and when he had dry washed it, to the astonishment of himself and the party

with him, he found that he had one 'chispa' which weighed two ounces and one dollar, besides other small pieces. Others of his party found good prospects, but none of the company had come for anything more than to ascertain the truth or falsity of the reported glad tidings and therefore were not prepared to remain and work for want of the necessary provisions and tools, but were compelled to return to La Laguna, a settlement some twenty miles above Fort Yuma, on the Arizona side of the Colorado. After their arrival at La Laguna, and report of what they had discovered, a party of forty persons prepared to visit the new mines. After their arrival in the placers, about the middle of February, 1862, discoveries were made almost daily, until it was known that every gulch and ravine for twenty miles east and south was rich with gold. Ferra Camp, Campo en Medio, American Camp, Los Chollos, La Plomosa, and many other smaller places, all had their rich diggings, but the discovery made by Juan Ferra, of the Ferra Gulch, was, without doubt, the most valuable of any. Very soon the knowledge of these discoveries spread to Sonora and California, and people began to pour in from all points, and continued to come until they probably numbered fifteen hundred. This population was maintained to a greater or less extent until the spring of 1864, when the apparent exhaustion of the placers and the extreme high prices for provisions caused large numbers to leave. The discovery of the Weaver and Walker diggings in the year 1863, drew away many of the miners from these placers.

"Of the yield of these placers, anything like an approximation to the average daily amount of what was taken out per man would only be guesswork. Hundreds of dollars per day to the man was common, and now and again a thousand or more per day. Don Juan Ferra took one nugget from his claim which weighed 47 ounces and six dollars. Another party found a 'chispa' weighing 27 ounces, and another one of 26 ounces. Many others found pieces of from one or two ounces up to 20, and yet it is contended that the greater proportion of the larger nuggets were never shown for fear of some evil spirits, who infested the mines at the time. It is the opinion of those most conversant with the first working of these placers, that much the greater proportion of the gold taken out was in nuggets weighing from one dollar up to the size of the 'chispas' above named. I have often heard it said of those days that 'not even a Papago Indian would work for less than \$10 per day.'

"As has been seen from the above, the gold was large and generally clear of foreign substances. The largest piece (above mentioned) did not contain an apparent atom of quartz or any other base matter. The gold from the different camps varied a trifle in its worth at the mint in San Francisco, and brought from \$17.50 to \$19.50 per ounce. But all that was sold or taken out here went for from \$16 to \$17 per ounce. Since the year 1864 until the present, there have been at various times many men at work in these placers, numbering in the winter months hundreds, but in the summer months not exceeding 75 or 100; and all seem to do suffi-

ciently well not to be willing to work for the wages of the country, which are and have been for some time, from \$30 to \$65 per month and found. No inconsiderable amount of gold comes in from these placers now weekly, and only a few days ago I saw, myself, a nugget which weighed \$40, clear and pure from any foreign substances.

“Some parties have lately come into these diggings with what is called concentrators or dry washers, which they have been working for a few weeks, and in conversation with Mr. Finkler (an owner of one of these machines) he told me that he could make \$20 per day where he was at work, and pay three dollars per day for his hands, and that he only required four to work the machine. Should these machines prove a success these placers will soon be peopled again with industrious, prosperous miners. Of the total amount of gold taken from these mines, I am as much at a loss to say what it has been as I was to name the average daily wages of the first years, and as I might greatly differ from those who were among the first in these mines, I do not feel justified in setting up an opinion as against them; I shall, therefore, give the substance of the several opinions which I have obtained from those who were the pioneers of these placers. I have failed to find any one of them whose opinion is that less than \$1,000,000 were taken from these diggings within the first year, and in all probability as much was taken out within the following year.”

In 1863 what was known as the Planet Mine was discovered by one Ryland, who, in 1864, organized a company in San Francisco. This

was a copper mine, and the second copper mine discovered in the Territory. It was worked from 1865 up to 1873, the selected ore being shipped to San Francisco and there sold at a hundred dollars a ton. The mine was located twelve miles from the Colorado, and within a mile from Bill Williams' Fork.

It was not until 1862 and 1863 that an attempt was made to thoroughly explore Central Arizona. Whipple and Beale, as we have seen, had crossed on the 35th parallel. Aubrey and Leroux had seen something of the Verde River and the northern tributaries of the Gila, but no one had attempted more than a hurried trip through the country, although all believed it rich in precious metals.

Late in 1862, or early in 1863, Pauline Weaver, who had crossed Arizona by the Gila as early as 1832, being attracted by the placers at La Paz, was induced to look for others in the interior of the country, and started with a party of men for an exploration. They discovered what has since been known as Weaver Diggings near Antelope Creek, and located the town of Weaver some sixty miles south of Prescott. About this time the Walker party of gold hunters arrived at the Pima Villages and determined to explore the country north, from which the Indians brought fabulous reports of great wealth. This party discovered the Hassayampa, one of the main streams of Central Arizona, having its rise about ten miles southeast of the town of Prescott, and running south until it sinks in the desert some twelve miles below the town of Wickenburg. Part of the Walker party went to

the Weaver Diggings, and there Swilling and others, as we have seen, discovered the rich placers upon the top of Antelope Peak, which, from the accounts, was literally covered with gold, nuggets of unusual size being found. It is said that one man with his jack-knife took out four thousand dollars in a single day from these diggings, and that there was taken from the small area of ground a million dollars in gold.

The remainder of the Walker party gradually ascended the Hassayampa, finding gold at almost every point, and in the winter of 1863, took possession of the Lynx Creek and Walker Diggings, ten miles east from Prescott, from which it was estimated that not less than half a million of dollars was taken. They also gathered much gold on Big Bug, four miles east of Lynx Creek, and when these placers were exhausted, the prospectors turned their attention to quartz veins, and found there was no lack of them all along the Hassayampa, and upon the Agua Fria, a parallel stream of considerable size, and also upon Lynx Creek, Big Bug, and Turkey Creek, and other creeks in Central Arizona, lodes of gold, silver and copper were found. In the excitement, as is always the case, a great many locations were made and recorded which had no value.

About this time Henry Wickenburg discovered and located what was afterwards known as the Vulture Mine, a ledge of about forty feet wide, having a chimney of ore five hundred feet in length, the ores of which averaged about forty dollars a ton, and another chimney about six

hundred feet in length, of about the same width, the ores of which ran about fifteen dollars a ton.

These chimneys were worked to a vertical depth of about a hundred and seventy feet on the vein, and many millions of dollars were taken out.

The opening of these gold mines in Central Arizona, accounts of which, no doubt greatly exaggerated as they were reproduced in San Francisco and again in the East, were probably the incentive to Congress to organize at once the Territory of Arizona. The country, at that time, needed gold and silver to meet its war expenses, and our statesmen in Washington, no doubt became convinced that Arizona was a country worthy of reclamation and redemption from savagery.

The excitement attendant upon the discovery of these diggings drew into the Territory a large immigration, sufficient, in a way, to protect themselves from their Indian foes, which they had to do because the military, with the exception of a small guard at Tucson and Fort Mohave, was withdrawn from Arizona into New Mexico, and all the Indian tribes, with the exception of the Papagoes, Pimas, Maricopas and Yumas, were upon the warpath.

The following early locations and organizations of mining districts, made in those early days, will be interesting to the general reader. They are given without correction in grammar or spelling:

#### CASTLE DOME MINING DISTRICT.

“At a meeting held at La Paz on the 8th day of December 1862 by persons claiming interests

in mineral veins near the Castle Dome range of mts Col Snively was requested to act as Chairman and H. Ehrenberg as Secretary of the meeting and the following resolutions were adopted.

“1 That the District wherein said veins are situated be called the Castle Dome District and be bounded as follows: Beginning at the peak known as Castle Dom—Thence 10 miles south—Thence East 10 miles—Thence north 10 miles—Thence West 10 miles to the starting point.

“2 That a mining claim in this District shall be 100 yards along said vein including all the angle spurrs &c belonging thereto—

“3 That the Discoverer or Discoverers of a vein shall be entitled to 100 yds extra on each & ever vein discovered by him or them.

“4 That in taking possession of claims the shall be clearly defined by conspicuous stakes or monmts of rock with the names of persons claiming.

“5. That 100 yards on each side of the vein where not conflicting with prior rights shall be considered part of the claim, and shall belong to the same, with any and every substance or thing found within these bounds on or below the surface.

“6. That all claims shall be recorded within 10 days after claiming them—

“7. That all claims thus recorded shall be properly described in their boundaries, and their relative position, as bearing and distances (where practicable) to any natural or artificial object stated.

“8. That in consideration of the want of mining implements and material in this section

at present, the time for commencing operations on the claims is fixed to 15 March 1863.

“9. That on and after that date all claims located shall be worked within 30 days.

“10. That all claims shall be worked in good faith for at least 4 days in each month.

“11. That companies holding various claims on the same vein shall not be obliged to work all of them severally, but that the working of any one of their claims in accordance with article 10 shall be sufficient evidence of good faith and ownership of the parties claiming.

“No claims shall be considered abandoned or forfeited for suspension of work for want of water or on account of war with Indians or any other unavoidable circumstances or obstacle.

“13. A Recorder shall be elected for the District who shall record the different claims, as presented in a book kept for that purpose and he shall give certified copies thereof—

“14. The fee of Recording shall be One Dollar for each claim, and no records of claims shall be made unless a specimen of the ore, coming from said claim shall accompany the statement to be recorded, which specimen shall be properly marked and preserved by the Recorder to serve as evidence in case of dispute hereafter.

“15. The Recorder to be elected hereafter shall for the present keep his office in the town of La Paz Arizona—

“16 Herman Ehrenberg is hereby chosen Recorder for Castle Dom District.

“17 Any five miners holding claims in this District shall have a right to call a general meeting of the miners interested in claims there, for

the purpose of revising the mining laws, the election of Recorder or for any purpose referring to the general interest of the District.

“18. Any such meeting as mentioned in article 17 shall only be considered legal by having 2 notices thereof posted within the bounds of said district, and one at the Recorders office for at least 14 days previously.

J. Snively, Chairman.

H. Ehrenberg, Secretary.”

### WEAVER MINING DISTRICT.

#### Name and Boundary of District.

“1st This District shall be known as Weaver District and bounded as follows—to wit, commencing at the mouth or sink of the Hassayamp Creek following up the eastern bank of said creek to the Tanks on the Southern boundary line of Walkers, thence West to the head of the Canyon of the St. Maria, thence southerly to Indian Springs continuing in said direction crossing Date Creek near the Indian cemetery ten miles from said crossing, thence east to the place of beginning.

#### Size of Claims.

“2nd—The size of Claims in this District shall be one hundred & fifty feet on creeks or Gulches and seventy five feet on each side.

#### Number of Claims, &C.

“3d No person shall hold but one claim in this District except the original discoverers (Ten in number) and the discoverer of new creek or Gulch diggings who are & shall be enti-

tled to one additional claim, all claims worked & recorded within five days from the time of location shall hold good for sixty days. After the expiration of said sixty days all claims shall be worked on one day in ten.

#### Arbitration.

“4th. All disputes in refference to mining claims in this District to be settled by arbitration.

#### Mexicans.

“5th No citizens of Mexico shall hold or work claims in this District except the boy Lorenzo Para who is one of the original discoverers, and should the miners employ any of the said citizens of Mexico, they will be held responsible for their good behavior, and should the said employer fail to comply with this article he or they shall forfeit all interest in the mines & leave the District.

#### Purchasing Claims.

“6th No person or persons shall purchase or sell any claims in this District for sixty days from the adoption of these laws, nor shall any person take up and hold claims for non-residents of the District.

#### Recorder.

“7th There shall be one Recorder elected whose duty shall be to record mining claims & bills of sale & preserve the laws of the district in a book or books to be kept for that purpose, said Records to be open for examination (free). His term of office shall be three months & until his successor is elected. He shall post or cause to be

posted notices in three public places of the District notifying the miners of the expiration of his term, stating the time & place of election, and deliver to his successor all Books Papers and Maps belonging to his office. His fees for Recording shall be one dollar for each claim, and one dollar for each Bill of Sale. No Bills of Sale of claims will be valid unless recorded within forty-eight hours after date.

Called Meetings.

“8th Any five miners can call a meeting of the miners of the District by Posting notices in three public places of the District stating the object of the meeting, giving five days notice and signing their names to said notices.

June 25th, 1863”

Arthur M. Henry, Recorder

PIONEER MINING DISTRICT.

Miners Meeting on the Oolkilsipava River

May 10th 1863

Mr. S Shoup President

J. V. Wheelhouse Secretary

“Names of original prospectors as required by Resolution No seven—

Capt. J. R. Walker.	George Blope.	G. Gillahan.
Jos. E. Walker, Jr.	A. C. Benedict.	Jackson McCrackin.
John Dixon.	S. Shoup.	Rodney McKinnon.
Jacob Linn.	T. J. Johnson.	Felix Cholet.
Jacob Miller.	B. Ellis.	M. Lewis.
Jas. V. Wheelhouse.	A. B. French.	Jas. Chase.
Jack Swelling.	Chas. Taylor.	George Coulter.
Frank Finney.	H. B. Cummings.	
S. C. Miller.	Wm. Williams.	

“Preamble, laws & resolutions adopted & passed by the ‘Walker’ prospecting & mining company for their mutual guidance and protec-

tion at a meeting of said company on the Ookilipava River May 10" 1863

"Sec 1st To all to whom it may concern, be it known that the 'Walker' prospecting & mining company have taken up certain portions of Ookilipava river & Tributarys for mining purposes have formed the said portion into a District to be called Pioneer District extending from the head of said river to a tree below the falls at the foot of the mountains (on which the notice of claimants is put up) taking in all tributarys, gulches, & ravines drained by said portion of river to main summit on both sides.

"Sec 2d That at a miners meeting duly called & at which a majority shall pronounce pro & con, shall be in this Dist the manner by which all laws be made & adopted, disputes to rights of claims settled, extent thereof, litigation, &c, & all other business appertaining to miners & their rights usually settled at said meetings in other mining Dists—

"Sec 3 That there shall be one President to preside over said meetings & one Secretary, both of whom shall be elected by a majority of votes for the term of one year from the date of election— It shall be the duty of said Presd't to call all meetings & see that business belonging to said meetings be properly brought before it & freely discussed to the satisfaction of all parties concerned— The duty of the Secty shall be to keep a true and proper record (in writing) of the proceedings of each & all of said meetings—

"Sec 4 There shall be a Recorder for said Dist appointed by the miners for the term of one year, whose duty it shall be to record all claims,

sales & transfers of same & other transactions in said Dist appertaining to said office in other mining districts— He shall keep a true record of same in writing open at all proper hours for public inspection—

“Resolutions passed & carried at the above meeting—

“Resolved, that one hundred yards in length and fifty yards from each side of centre of gulch be considered a claim on this river.—

“Resolved, That each original prospector be entitled to one extra claim by right of discovery—

“Resolved, That each member of the company having drawn by lottery the number of his claims shall have the privilege of exchanging one or both of them for any other unclaimed part of said river same dimensions as original being observed—

“Resolved, That whereas but little time was taken to properly prospect, no claims be taken for persons outside of original prospectors until they have definitely settled to which part of said river their claim may be exchanged to—

“Resolved that the President be entitled to a fee of five dollars for each miners meeting which may be called to settle disputes or other individual business, to be paid by parties calling said meeting before the meeting be called & in case of winning suit to be refunded to Plaintiff & same amount collected from Defendant—

“Resolved that the names of all original prospectors be embodied in this document—

“Resolved That Mr. T. J. Johnson be President of this Dist—

“Resolved That Mr. Wheelhouse be Secretary—

“Resolved That Mr. Wheelhouse be Recorder

“Resolved That the original claimants whose names appear in this document have nothing to pay for recording their first claims—

“Resolved That the fee for recording claims be fixed at Two dollars & fifty cents per claim—

“Resolved that No Mexican shall have the right to buy, take up, or pre empt a claim on this river, or in this Dis't for the term of six months, to date from the first date of June 1863 to Dec 1st 1863

S. Shoup, President

J. V. Wheelhouse, Sect'y—”

### YAPAPEI (SIC) MINING DISTRICT

By Laws

Leihy & Mellons Camp

September 10th 1863

“Notice is hereby given that a Miners Meeting will be held at Leihy & Mellon's Camp on the 28th day of September for the purpose of forming a Mining District and to make laws governing the same—

September 28th 1863

“The meeting called in accordance with the above notice was organized by electing A. B. Smith—President & Geo. W. Leihy Secretary—

“A committee of 5 were elected to draft laws for government of District & its boundaries—A. B. Smith, Geo. W. Leihy, G. C. Welch, C. G. Mellon & G. C. Cross the gentlemen of committee

“On motion meeting adjourned one hour to allow committee to make report.

4 o'clock P. M. 28th 1863

"Meeting again assembled—The committee made the following report & respectfully asked its acceptance & adoption as the laws & boundaries of the District.

"Resolved 1st That the District be known as the Yapapei District.

"2nd That the District be bounded on the North by commencing at the North end of Point of Mountain Range lying on the West side of the Assamp River, near the headwaters of the Agua Frio River, from thence along the dividing ridge of said Mountain in a southerly direction to a point intersected by the Trail now traveled from Peoples Ranch to what is known as the Tanks on the Assamp River, from thence along the said Trail in a Southerly direction to the South-East corner of what is known as 'Webbers Ranch' from thence in a North West direction to Williams Fork River, from thence up the main branch of said River twenty (20) miles from thence to the place of beginning.

"3rd That any one may locate one claim only on each Lode or Vein of Mineral that may be discovered in the District, & that in addition the discoverer of any Lode or Vein of Mineral shall have a discovery claim.

"4th That each claim both by location & discovery be Three hundred feet on the Lode or Vein and One hundred feet on each side following the dip of the Lode or Vein.

"5th That on locating any claim or taking one up by discovery the party or parties so locating or taking up shall place a notice on said

claim in a conspicuous place setting forth the direction in which such claim or claims are taken.

“6th. That said notice shall hold said claim thirty days from the time of putting up said notice, after which time if there is no record made of said notice the claim shall be deemed abandoned and subject to relocation by any other party.

“7th. That any person taking up or holding claims in this District neglects to work or does not cause to be worked for the time of Sixty days from the time of recording shall be deemed to have abandoned the same & the claim shall be subject to relocation.

“8th. That each claimant do or cause to be done three days work on each claim in every ninety days from the time of taking up or locating their claim.

“9th. That in case such claimant shall have done or caused to be done twelve days labor within six months from the time of locating, it shall hold said claim for one year—

“10th. That there be a Recorder elected for this District who shall be a resident of the District, whose term of Office shall be six months or until his successor is elected, it shall be his duty to record all claims presented to him for record in a book kept by him for that purpose, & that it be his duty, should it be required, to furnish certificate of Record to each one recording a claim or transfer of claim or Bill of Sale. That it shall be the duty of said Recorder to deliver all records of this District kept by him to his successor in office upon presentment of a duly

certified certificate of his election by the Miners of the District.

“11th. That for recording each claim or notice of claim Fifty cents, and for recording deeds of transfer Two dollars and fifty cents. The Recorders book shall be open to the inspection of any person who may wish to examine in the presence of the Recorder or his Deputy. That the Books, stationery, &c. necessary for the office shall be furnished by the Recorder at his own expense—

“12th. That Recorder may appoint any suitable person resident of this District, to act as his Deputy—

“The whole adopted.

“The meeting then proceeded to ballot for Recorder; G. C. Welch declared unanimously elected for the next ensuing six months—

A. B. Smith, President—

“Geo. W. Leihy, Secretary.

“Adjourned sin die.”

### WALKER MINING DISTRICT.

“At a meeting of the Miners of Lynx Creek & Vicinity held pursuant to notice on the 24th day of November 1863 at the office of the Recorder, the President T. J. Johnson tendered his resignation which was accepted and Capt. Bogert was elected chairman.

“The Recorder J. V. Wheelhouse tendered his resignation, and an election for the office of Recorder was called after a ballot Mr. V. C. Smith was declared elected.

“Upon Motion a committee of five was appointed by the chair to draft Laws to govern the

Quartz mines of the District consisting of V. C. Smith, Mr. Shoup Cal Dobbins Major McKinney & Mr. Sandford.

“Upon motion a committee of three was appointed to draft new Laws to govern the Placer mines of the district consisting of Cal Dobbins A. Thom Mr. McCrackin as appointed by the chair

“The committee appointed to draft Laws for the government of the Quartz Mines of the District submitted the following report.

“To the officers and members of the miners meeting held Nov. 24th, 1863, at the office of Recorder Lynx Creek.

“Gentlemen Your committee appointed to establish boundaries & draft Bye Laws for the government of a Quartz Miners District would most respectfully submit the following Preamble Resolutions and Bye Laws for your consideration

#### Preamble

“Whereas owing to the increasing interest manifested by the Residents & Miners of this locality in Quartz & other Lodes containing metal of value—and to the many and various conflicting and untruthful reports that have originated and spread throughout the land concerning, and to the detriment of the Residents and Miners of this locality be it

“Resolved, That we the residents & miners of Lynx Creek & vicinity will under any and all circumstances defend, protect, aid & assist any and all traders & persons whether citizens or not in the prosecution of right & legitimate business while within the jurisdiction of our laws.

“Resolved, That we denounce the originators of the many falsehoods, circulated by the faint hearted many who have returned to their shin warming firesides as a set unworthy the name of Pioneers & be it further resolved, That the boundaries of this Quartz Mining & Mineral District be as follows viz. Commencing at a Bald Mountain near the sink and to the Westward of Lynx Creek running in a Southerly direction following the dividing ridge of the waters of the Agua Frio and Hassayamp Rivers to a large Pine Mountain about thirty-five miles in an Easterly direction from the place of commencement, thence in an Easterly direction to the Agua Frio River, thence up the Agua Frio River following the bed of the stream northerly direction to Woolsey’s Ranch, thence in a Westerly direction to the place of beginning, and be it further

“Resolved, That the name of this district be known as the Walker Quartz Mining District

#### Bye Laws.

“Art. 1st. The officers of this district shall consist of One President and one Recorder whose term of office respectively shall be six months from the date of the election—

“Art. 2nd. It shall be the duty of the President to preside over and order all meetings, and to conduct the business of the same according to the rules adopted by legislative bodies.

“Art. 3rd. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to act as secretary of all meetings and keep a true & correct record of all claims located and when required shall accompany the person or persons locating claims as a witness of the

same & make out all deeds and transfers of claims and take acknowledgments thereto.

“Art. 4th. The Recorder shall receive for each name appearing upon the notice fifty cents and for each mile traveled by him when required in locating claims provided the same exceeds two miles travel from his office fifty cents per mile and for each deed or transfer the sum of \$1.50. The Recorder shall pro-cure the necessary books for his office & turn the same over to his successor

“Art. 5th. The books of the Recorder shall be open at all times at his office for the inspection of the public.

“Art. 6th. The Recorder may appoint deputies who shall have the same authority, & whose acts shall be deemed as legal as the principal.

“Art. 7th. Notices of all meetings shall be posted one week previous to the meeting in three prominent places in the district which notices shall designate the time & place of holding the same.

“Art. 8th. All claims of Quartz or of lodes containing metal of value shall be two hundred feet along the lode with Fifty feet on each side & all the dips, spurs and angles following the ledge.

“Art. 9th. The discoverer of a ledge shall be entitled to one claim, which shall be known as the discovery claim, and one by right of pre-emption.

“Art. 10th. Person or persons locating claims shall post notices and erect monuments either by stakes, ditches or furrows or stones or trees at each end of his or their claims which notices

shall designate the date of location, amount claimed, names of parties claiming the direction following the ledge as possible with its dips, spurs & angles.

“Art. 11th. All claims shall be recorded within sixty days from the date of posting notices

“Art. 12th. Person or persons locating claims shall furnish the Recorder with a true copy of the notice and a specimen of the metal

“Art. 13th. No claim shall be deemed abandoned or subject to relocation after recording providing three days labor shall be performed on each claim every three months for one year, or if held by a company the number of days labor required for the number of claims held by them may be performed upon any individual claim held by such company upon that particular ledge on & after the 1st day of April next.

“Art. 14th. None but white persons shall be allowed to hold claims in this district.

“Art. 15th. All disputes with regard to claims shall be settled by arbitration: The parties disputant each selecting an arbitrator the two arbitrators thus selected, selecting the third, the decision of the arbitrators shall be deemed final.

“Art. 16th. No person or persons shall locate a claim or claims in this district who are non residents, or who are not within the district at the time of its location

“Art. 17th. No person or persons except the discoverer of a ledge shall hold more than one claim on each ledge discovered except by purchase.

“Art. 18th. All sales and transfers of claims must be made by deed properly acknowledged, and a note of the same entered upon the books of the Recorder, stating the date amount sold or transferred and to who so sold or transferred.

“Art. 19th. Any person or persons or company holding claims who shall have complied strictly with the foregoing laws for the term of one year from the first day of April next such claims shall be deemed and considered as Real estate & held as such

“Art. 20th. The amount of labor required to be performed upon each claim or claims for one year may be performed at one & the same time, provided the same is performed within three months from the first day of April 1864, or within three months after recording if recorded on and after said first day April.

“Art. 21st. Persons acting as arbitrators shall be entitled to a fee of \$5 per day which fee must be deposited by the parties calling the arbitration with the President of the district.

“Art. 22nd. The person or persons losing the suit shall pay the expenses, and the money deposited by the opposite party upon demand returned to them by the President.

“Art. 23rd. All laws & parts of laws conflicting with these by laws are hereby repealed.

“Art. 24th. The discovery claim upon each ledge is hereby exempt from the labor required in the foregoing by laws.”

## QUARTZ MOUNTAIN MINING DISTRICT. Laws.

“At a meeting of Quartz Miners held at Lount Cabin on Granite Creek December 27th 1863.

John West was chosen Chairman and C. M. Dorman Secretary—

“The following laws & regulations for the better governing of Quartz Mining, as reported on by the committee, were taken up separately and adopted.

“Article 1st. That this District shall be known & called the Quartz Mountain District, and shall be bounded and described as follows: Commencing at a Bald Mountain known as the North West corner of the Walker District running along the west line of said District to its South West corner. Thence in a North Westerly course along the Divide between the Waters of the Hassayampa and Granite Creeks to the Granite Mountain. Thence in a straight line to the place of beginning.

“Article 2nd. That this District shall have a Recorder who shall hold his office one year from the time of his election, or until his successor be elected and qualified, and whose duty it shall be to visit, examine & measure either himself or Deputy the ground claimed in any notice presented him for record before recording the same, & shall be entitled to receive one dollar for each claim so recorded and examined.

“Article 3rd. A claim on any Ledge or Lode of Mineral Rock in this District shall not exceed 300 feet, running with the main Lead, together with (150) feet of ground on each side of the main Lead or Lode with all the Minerals contained therein.

“Article 4th. All persons locating ground for Mining purposes on any Metallic Vein or Lode of Quartz or other Rock in this District, shall

be required to post a notice on a conspicuous place on the Vein indicating as nearly as possible the direction, & setting forth the number of feet claimed each way from the notice, and the notice of the discoverer or the company containing the discovery claim, shall be the starting point from which all claims subsequently located on the same vein shall be measured.

“Article 5th. No person shall be entitled to hold by location more than one claim on the same vein, except the discoverer, who shall be entitled to two.

“Article 6th. Any notice claiming ground for Mining purposes on any Metalic Vein or Lode of Quartz or other Mineral Rock posted according to provisions of Art. 4th of this code, shall be deemed sufficient to hold such claim or claims for the term of sixty days from date of such notice. But after the expiration of sixty days, such notice be not found recorded or filed for record with the recorder of the district, the ground so claimed shall be deemed abandoned & subject to relocation.

“Article 7th. All notices claiming ground for Mining on any Metalic Vein or Lode of Quartz or Mineral Rock in this District properly located according to the provisions of Art. 4th of this code, shall be deemed sufficient to hold such ground until the first day of May One thousand eight hundred and sixty-four (1864). But if any claimant or claimants to any ground in this District, located & held as here in above described, shall perform or cause to be performed the am't of (6) six days labor to each claim on any part of his or their ground at any

time between the date of the notice claiming such ground and the first day of May 1864, the same shall be deemed sufficient to give him or them perpetual title thereto; Provided that in case the claimant or claimants are not actually engaged in working the same at the expiration of two years from the time a perpetual title is acquired and certificate to that effect issued by the Recorder; the claimant or claimants shall renew the record in the Recorders book provided for the purpose—Otherwise the claim to be deemed abandoned & subject to relocation—The amount of labor in all cases to be examined by the Recorder who shall on application visit & examine the ground, & if in his opinion the required amount of labor has been done there on, he shall certify the fact in a note to be attached or written beneath the notice recorded claiming such ground; and for such services he shall be entitled to receive one dollar for each claim so recorded.

“Article 8th. Any person or persons holding ground for mining purposes in this District, on and after the first day of May 1864, shall be required to perform or cause to be performed thereon the amount of three days labor to each claim, in every ninety days, and if any person or persons shall comply with the above provisions for the period of one year, he or they shall thereby acquire perpetual title thereto. The labor to be examined and certified to by the Recorder, as provided in art. 7th; Provided always that the labor be performed or record renewed according to Art. 7th of this code—

“Article 9th. If any person or persons holding ground for Mining purposes in this District perform or cause to be performed thereon the amount of twelve days labor at any time after the first day of May 1864, Shall thereby acquire perpetual title thereto; The labor to be examined & certified to by the Recorder; And provided always that labor be performed or record renewed as provided in Article 7th of this code.

10th. A miners meeting may be called at any time by putting notices in three conspicuous places in the District, ten days previous to the time of holding the meeting, stating in such notice the object for which the meeting is called, and place of holding the same, all such notices to be signed by the Quartz Miners of the District.

“Article 11th. All persons owning ground & residing in this District may vote at any meeting properly called by Quartz Miners. All persons non-resident of this District may vote by proxy; provided they hold at the time of such meeting one claim in the District.

“Article 12th. The Recorder shall furnish at his own expense all books necessary for the recording of claims deeds of transfer &c. pertaining to his office, and keep the same open to the inspection of the public; and turn them over to his successor in office free of charge.

“Article 13th. An election shall be held on the first Monday in December of each year for the purpose of choosing a Recorder. A majority of the votes cast by ballot to elect. The Recorder so elected to commence his duties and take charge of the books on the first Monday after his election.

“Article 14th. In case of the death or resignation of the Recorder, an election shall be ordered as provided in Art. 10th of this code for the choosing of a Recorder to fill his unexpired term of office.

“Article 15th. It shall be the duty of the Recorder to enter on the books for recording claims; underneath the notices, the name of the person who has examined such claim for record.

“Article 16th. All Laws or parts of Laws heretofore in force in this District, pertaining in any way to Quartz Mining, are hereby repealed.

“Article 17th. These Laws shall be in force from & after the date of their adoption.

“On motion of Geo. Lount—A. O. Noyes was put in nomination for recorder and unanimously elected.

“We the undersigned committee appointed to draft and report By-laws & regulations for the better government of Quartz mining in Quartz-Mountain District, having examined the foregoing Laws, do certify them as a true & correct copy of the Original Laws as adopted at the meeting called for this purpose Dec. 27th 1863.

“(Signed) A. O. Noyes,  
E. M. Smith,  
Geo. Lount.”

The foregoing mining districts were formed under the old California mining laws, which allowed miners to form their own mining districts, and designate the number of claims, and their size, which could be located. Claims on placers covered certain areas, and vein mines were located on the ledge vertically, in general not following dips, spurs and angles.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## CREATION OF TERRITORY.

REAL CAUSES FOR CREATION OF TERRITORY — EFFORTS OF CHAS. D. POSTON — INTRODUCTION OF BILL FOR CREATION BY MR. ASHLEY — PASSAGE OF SAME THROUGH HOUSE AND SENATE — SIGNING OF SAME BY PRESIDENT LINCOLN — DESCRIPTION OF PASSAGE OF BILL BY CHAS. D. POSTON — APPOINTMENTS OF OFFICIALS OF TERRITORY — STARTING OF OFFICIALS FOR TERRITORY.

Undoubtedly the Confederate invasion of Arizona and New Mexico, and the organization of Arizona into a separate Territory by the Confederates, which was acknowledged by the Confederate Government, with the discovery of gold in large quantities in Arizona, of which the Government at that time stood in great need, were the real causes of the passage of the bill through Congress in the session of 1862-63 for the creation of the Territory of Arizona.

Charles D. Poston, who was in Washington at that time, aided by General Heintzelman, was active in promoting the measure, which had the support of Ben Wade of Ohio, in the Senate and Ashley, of Ohio, in the House.

On March 12th, 1862, Mr. Ashley introduced a bill for the organization of the Territory of Arizona, which was referred to the Committee on Territories. This bill, adopting the suggestion of New Mexico, fixed the north and south-

eastern boundary line of the new Territory on the meridian of 32 degrees west of Washington, which is  $109^{\circ} 2' 59''$  25 thirds west of Greenwich, and included the area as at present included within the boundaries of the State of Arizona, with the exception of about 12,000 square miles lying west of the Colorado River, which was subsequently annexed to the State of Nevada.

This bill, after a lively debate, was passed through the House by a small majority on May 8th. 1862. Watts, the Delegate from New Mexico, and Ashley, from Ohio, were its chief advocates in the House, and Wheeler of New York, led the opposition. It was argued that Arizona's white population of 6500 evidently included the Mexican population, for, at that time, by the best accounts, the native born American population was not over 600, and they, and the four thousand civilized Indians were entitled to a civil government and protection as citizens of the United States, which it was contended they could not receive as long as it was under the territorial government of New Mexico. It was also argued that the great mineral wealth of the country was ample justification for the necessary expenditure in creating a new Territory. The opposition claimed that the population never had been sufficient for a territory; that the 6500 population shown in the census included Mexicans and half breeds, totally unfit for American citizenship, that the American population as enumerated at that time had been driven out and that the territory was in the possession of rebels and hostile Indians. Under such

conditions it was contended that no real protection could be given, and that a territorial government would be a mere farce; that the bill was intended to benefit office seekers, and that in view of the great expenses of the government, Congress had no right to divert any portion of the public monies for their benefit, but should conserve it all for the protection of the country against its rebel and savage foes. By this bill slavery was prohibited and the Capitol was located at Tucson.

In the Senate the bill was supported by McDougal of California and Wade of Ohio. After some debate the bill was postponed from June, 1862, to December of the same year. Final action was taken on the 20th day of February, 1863, when the clause designating Tucson as the capitol was removed, and, under the championship of Senator Wade, the bill was finally passed by a vote of twenty-five to twelve and signed by President Lincoln on the 24th day of February, 1863.

Charles D. Poston, in giving his connection with the final passage of this bill says: "At the meeting of Congress in Dec. 1862 I returned to Washington, made friends with Lincoln, and proposed the organization of the terr. of Arizona. Oury (who I suppose had been elected delegate in '62 to succeed McGowan) was in Richmond, cooling his heels in the ante-chambers of the confederate congress without gaining admission as a delegate from Arizona. Mowry was a prisoner in Yuma, cooling his head from the political fever which had afflicted it, and meditating on the decline and fall of a West Point

graduate. There was no other person in Washington, save Gen. Heintzelman, who took any interest in Arizona affairs. They had something else to occupy their attention, and did not even know where Ariz. was. Old Ben Wade, chairman of the senate com. on territories, took a lively and bold interest in the organization of the territory, and Ashley, chairman of the com. in the house, told me how to accomplish the object. He said there were a number of members of the expiring congress, who had been defeated in their own districts for the next term, who wanted to go west and offer their services to the 'galoots' and if they could be grouped and a satisfactory slate made, they would have influence enough to carry the bill through congress. Consequently an 'oyster supper' was organized, to which the 'lame ducks' were invited, and then and there the slate was made, and the territory was virtually organized. So the slate was made and the bargain concluded, but toward the last it occurred to my obfuscated brain that my name did not appear on the slate, and in the language of Daniel Webster I exclaimed: 'Gentlemen, what is to become of me?' Gurley politely replied, 'O, we will make you Indian Agent.' So the bill passed, and Lincoln signed all the commissions, and the oyster supper was paid for, and we were all happy, and Arizona was launched upon the political sea."

In March following President Lincoln made appointments for the territory as follows:

Governor: John A. Gurley of Ohio, who died August 18th, and, on the 21st, John N. Goodwin, of Maine, was appointed in his place.

Secretary: Richard C. McCormick, of New York.

Chief Justice: Wm. F. Turner, of Iowa.

Associate Justices: William T. Howell of Michigan, and Joseph P. Allyn, of Connecticut.

District Attorney: John Titus of Pennsylvania, whose place, however, was taken by Almon Gage, of New York, before starting.

Surveyor-General: Levi Bashford, of Wisconsin, was appointed May 26th.

Marshal: Milton B. Duffield of New York.

Supt. of Indian Affairs: Chas. D. Poston, of Kentucky.

The newly appointed statesmen started overland in August for Arizona, except Chas D. Poston, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, J. Ross Browne, Agent for the Department of the Interior, Milton B. Duffield, U. S. Marshal, and Robert F. Greely, Deputy Marshal for the Territory, who came by way of California, under the military escort of Capt. S. A. Gorham, who conducted them to Tucson on January 17th, 1864.



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